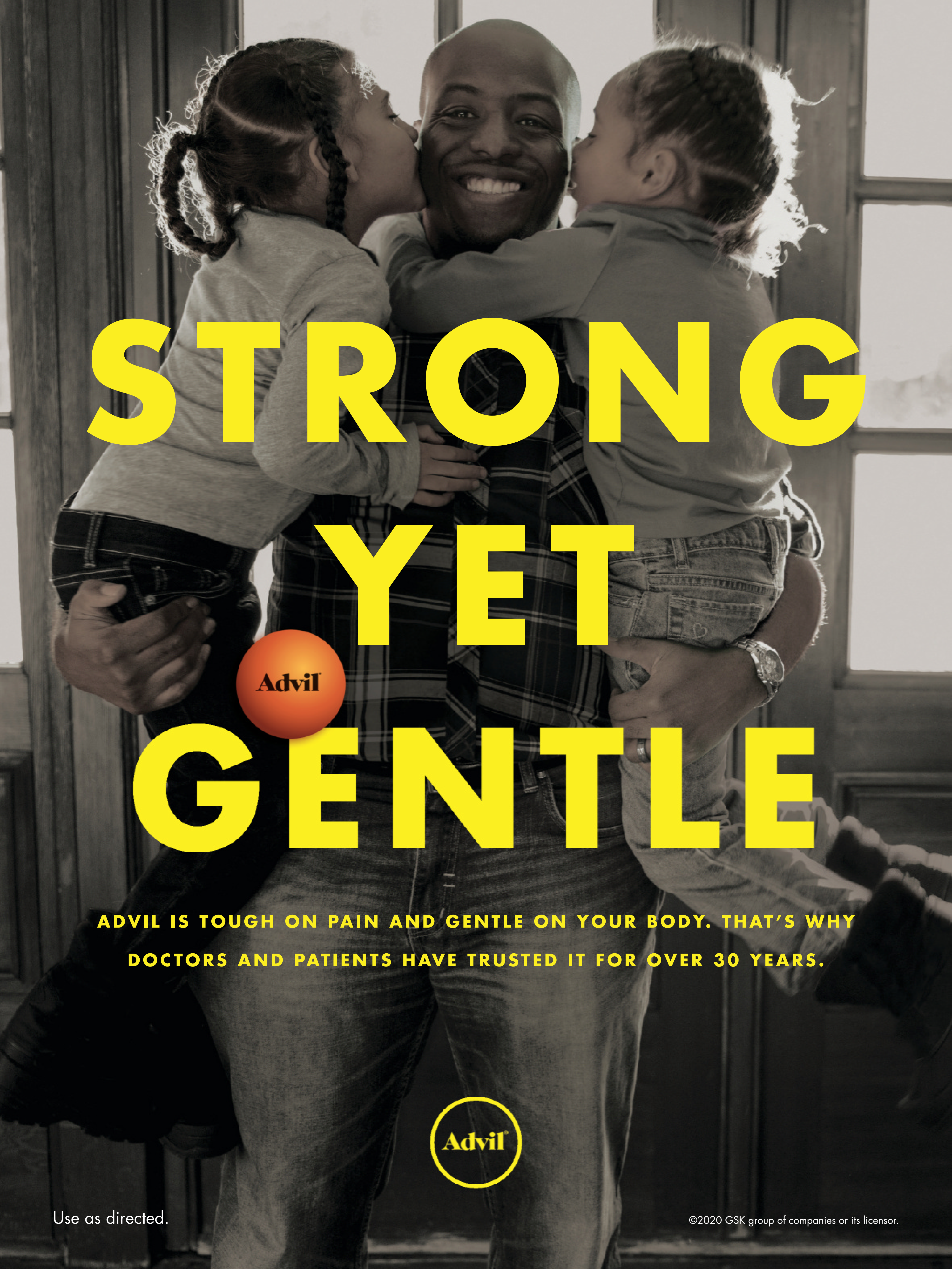
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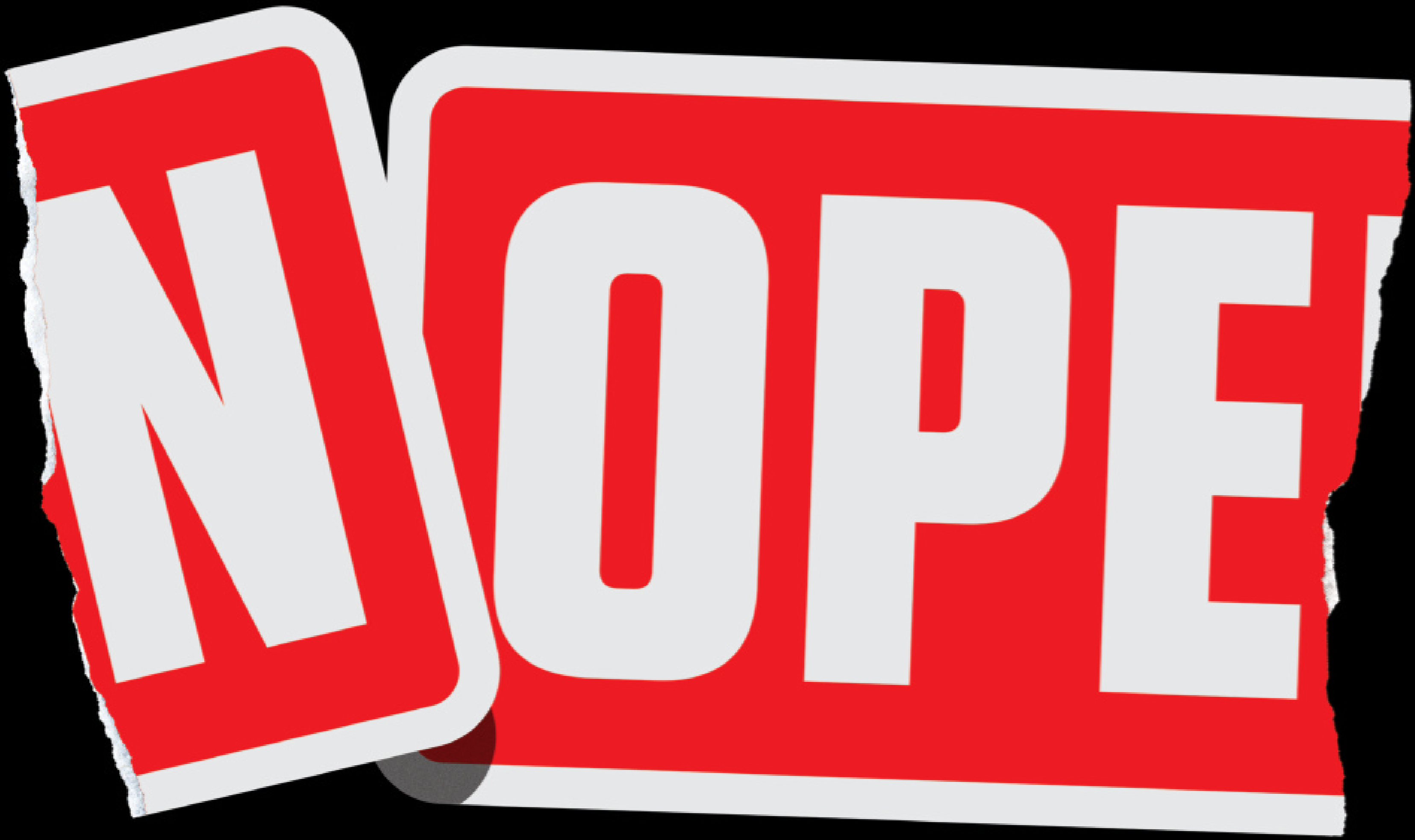

THE LONG ROAD BACK

HOW TO REOPEN SAFELY
By ALICE PARK

WHERE IT'S WORKED —AND HASN'T
By CHARLIE CAMPBELL

THE GOVERNOR vs. THE PRESIDENT
By MOLLY BALL

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HOME

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VOL. 195, NO. 17 | 2020

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^
Teri O'Meara fills her sewing basket to the brim with masks for police in Centreville, Md.

Photograph by Peter van Agtmael—Magnum Photos

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by Ben Wiseman for TIME

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Conversation

Finding Hope

At this moment when more of us are looking online for crucial human connections, TIME is convening the world's most influential people through TIME 100 Talks, a new series of virtual conversations and experiences. The first installment, "Finding Hope," streamed on April 23, following the release of a special issue on the same topic. Doctors, politicians and artists at the forefront of health and social-justice policymaking discussed how to address the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. As TIME editor-in-chief and CEO Edward Felsenthal said in his opening remarks, the mission of the TIME 100 summits—"looking for ways to encourage action"—is more important than ever, "to help guide all of us toward a better future." Find more insights and highlights, as well as updates on upcoming talks, at **time.com/time-100-talks**

TIME100 TALKS

JOHN LEGEND
The singer and criminal-justice-reform advocate performed his new song "Bigger Love" and Bill Withers' "Lean on Me." He also urged rethinking prisons given the spread of COVID-19 among inmates.

ATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ALLERGY AND INFECT
TIME100 TALKS

DR. ANTHONY FAUCI
The nation's top infectious-disease expert was candid about the long road to reopening the country. *(See "6 Questions," page 56.)*

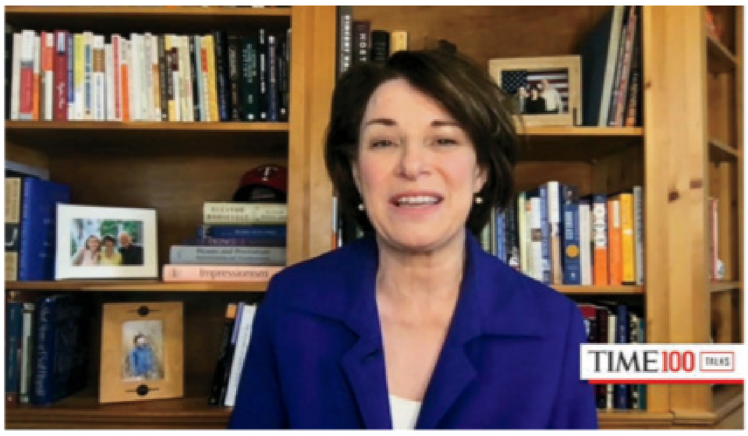
ANGELINA JOLIE
"This is a time for outrage," the TIME contributing editor and U.N. special envoy said of how shuttered schools put vulnerable children at greater risk for food insecurity.

TIME100 TALKS

TIME100 TALKS
TIME100 TALKS

DR. LEANA WEN AND DR. LARRY BRILLIANT
TIME's Alice Park interviewed public-health experts Wen and Brilliant *(above left and right)* about what we need to do to prepare for future outbreaks.

AMY KLOBUCHAR
The Minnesota U.S. Senator and former 2020 Democratic presidential candidate opened up about the federal stimulus packages and her husband's fight with COVID-19.



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For the Record

do-si-dos
trefoils
tagalongs
lemon-ups
thin mints
toffee-tastic
tagalongs
thin mints

144,000

Boxes of cookies the Girl Scouts of Alaska were left with when COVID-19 stopped the selling season, local media said on April 26; a federal loan will help the group make up the resulting funding gap

'We have won that battle. But we must remain vigilant if we are to keep it that way.'

JACINDA ARDERN,
New Zealand Prime Minister, on April 27, announcing that the country had eliminated "widespread undetected community transmission" of the novel coronavirus

'I FEEL LIKE THEY MADE US GUINEA PIGS.'

LENON PAGE,
co-owner of a spa business in Savannah, Ga., speaking to TIME after Georgia Governor Brian Kemp announced that businesses including gyms, salons and barbershops could reopen on April 24

'Under no circumstance should our disinfectant products be administered into the human body.'

RECKITT BENCKISER,
the company that makes Lysol and Dettol, in an April 24 statement after President Trump speculated in a briefing that it might be possible to treat COVID-19 using disinfectants; Trump later said he was being sarcastic

'Maybe if you get enough of these little gestures, it will all come out for the better in the end.'

DENNIS RUHNKE,
on sending a single N95 mask to New York Governor Andrew Cuomo; Cuomo read a letter from the retired Kansas farmer at a daily briefing on April 24

GOOD NEWS *of the week*

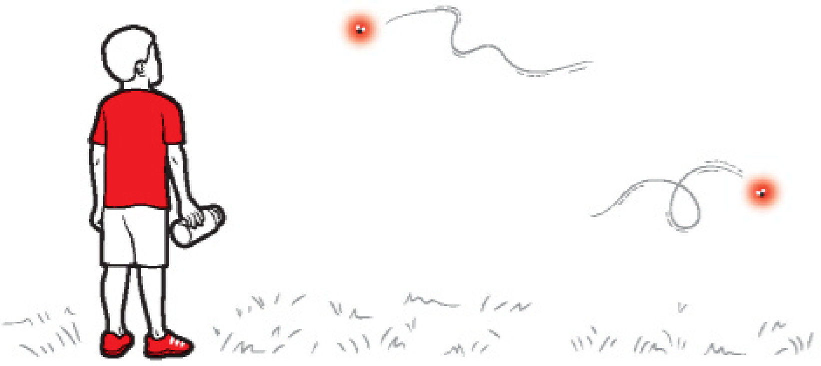
A 6-year-old in British Columbia gained international attention for opening a joke stand at the end of his driveway, where he offers laughs while maintaining social distance

'Money is not getting into people's hands.'

CARMEN YULÍN CRUZ,
mayor of San Juan, P.R., in an April 25 appearance on MSNBC; she claimed that no Puerto Rican residents had yet received federal stimulus checks, attributing the delay to local distribution problems

9%

Approximate average drop per decade in abundance of land-dwelling insects, according to a study published April 24; researchers looked at more than 150 long-term surveys of insect populations



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The Brief

UP IN SMOKE
A refinery in Carson, Calif., on April 22, as low oil prices raise questions about the industry's future

INSIDE

AMID SNAGS, FEDERAL HELP FOR SMALL BUSINESSES IS RE-UPPED

KIM JONG UN RUMORS PUT SPOTLIGHT ON N.K. SUCCESSION

FOOD BANKS STRUGGLE WITH HIGH DEMAND AND LOW SUPPLY

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID MCNEW

ENVIRONMENT

A climate choice in low oil prices

By Justin Worland

FOR AS LONG AS THE WORLD HAS BEEN trying to tackle climate change, oil has presented a unique challenge. The fossil fuel, the production and use of which emits greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, is central to modern society. It powers the world's economy, and industry leaders wield enormous political power—all of which is still true. But the world of oil is changing. Notably, the U.S. benchmark price for oil started 2020 at more than $60 per barrel, but thanks to a price war and the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on industry, it hit a record low of negative $40 in mid-April and has still not fully rebounded. In other words, producers couldn't give it away.

"The basic model is in pieces. It's fallen apart," says Tom Sanzillo, director of finance at the Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis. "This is an industry in last place."

It should come as no surprise that climate advocates have been watching all this with interest. Analysts agree that while the headwinds facing the industry are unlikely to calm, prices will rise eventually. How the industry emerges from this moment of crisis is anything but certain and will be key in defining the future of the fight against climate change.

There's one big reason this period of low oil prices could help climate activists: the pricing free fall exposes holes in the investment case for oil. For decades, the industry was a cash cow for investors, with oil companies ranked among the world's biggest and most profitable businesses. However, last year, even before the pandemic, the sector was already the worst-performing on the S&P stock index. This year the outlook is worse.

After falling below zero, the West Texas Intermediate price—the key oil-price measure in the U.S.—had rebounded to around $13 per barrel by April 28. That price still falls far short of the $50 per barrel West Texas producers need to turn a profit on a new well. On top of that, some analysts now argue that as other sources of energy expand, we may never again burn as much oil as we did last year. These disastrous conditions for the industry make it difficult for producers to access the capital necessary to grow and survive: lower oil prices mean lower stock prices and more expensive loans. Some companies—particularly smaller firms—will go bankrupt.

Firms that do survive will need new strategies. Some may wind down existing assets. Others may invest in clean energy. Businesses will ask, "How do we show up in the market as a company that's future-forward and not a company that is irrelevant?" says Deborah Byers, U.S. oil and gas leader at consulting firm EY, who believes the coronavirus has accelerated that process by five years.

140

Number of U.S. oil producers set to go bankrupt by the end of 2020 if prices stay at around $20 a barrel

45%

Percentage of U.S. energy-related carbon emissions that come from burning oil

–$40

U.S. benchmark price for oil at one point on April 20, the lowest price ever

But not everyone is optimistic that low oil prices will help the fight against climate change. Cheap oil means cheaper gas at the pump, which leads people to drive more and spend more on emissions-intensive consumer goods. It also removes a key incentive for businesses to change. A delivery company purchasing a van fleet will be less likely to go electric, for example, and a consumer food company considering switching its packaging away from oil-based plastic may wait a few years. "It's very hard to transition away from oil when it's very cheap," says Lorne Stockman, a senior research analyst at Oil Change International, which advocates for a switchover away from fossil fuels. "And it's particularly difficult when we don't have a coherent policy on climate change."

Another key concern for many climate advocates is the possibility that as oil sinks, natural gas—which in the U.S. is often produced alongside oil and also remains cheap—will further solidify its position in the mix of electricity sources, leading utilities and policymakers to stick with cheap gas rather than look for renewable alternatives. Because energy infrastructure has a long life span, a shift like that would lock in decades of emissions.

NONE OF THIS is to say that low oil prices will stop the energy transition. That will happen no matter what; the question is how fast. In the coming months, political leaders across the globe will get to work planning an economic recovery. They can choose to double down on fossil-fuel infrastructure, inspired in part by low oil prices, or they can invest in clean energy, recognizing the long-term economic trends and the threat of climate change.

"There's been a lot of discussion around 'What kind of recovery do we have in the energy sector? How do we tilt the balance?'" says Rachel Kyte, dean of Tufts University's Fletcher School and a veteran climate leader. "A lesson learned from previous shocks [is] 'You shouldn't do stupid things,'" she says, referring to "propping up fossil fuels."

In some corners, particularly in the U.S., economic stimulus measures are seen as a way to keep oil and gas humming along, business as usual despite tectonic shifts in the industry. President Trump has pushed such measures, promising in an April 21 tweet to "never let the great U.S. Oil & Gas Industry down." But as the world continues to warm, bringing inevitable climate destruction, people everywhere can only hope that those running this recovery will keep Kyte's adage in mind.

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES; PRAYER: MUKHTAR KHAN—AP

▸ *For more, sign up for our climate newsletter:* **time.com/one.five**

SOURCES: ENERGY INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION; RYSTAD ENERGY

A DIFFERENT KIND OF RAMADAN A Muslim man offers prayer on the banks of Dal Lake in Srinagar, Indian-controlled Kashmir, on April 26, the second day of Ramadan. Authorities closed a nearby shrine, normally packed for the holy month, to prevent the spread of COVID-19. This year, lockdown measures mean many of the world's 1.8 billion Muslims are forgoing traditions of large gatherings for worship and feasts with friends and family to break daylong fasts.

THE BULLETIN

Emergency federal loans for small business, take two

THE FEDERAL PROGRAM INTENDED TO carry U.S. small businesses through nationwide shutdowns has faced hitches from the start: within two weeks of the program's launch in early April, its money had run out. On April 27, the program came back to life with $310 billion in new financing. After congressional Democrats prevailed in a push for new appropriations to cover other coronavirus relief measures, such as emergency dollars for hospitals, legislation funding the measure passed with broad bipartisan support—but not all has gone smoothly.

FITS AND STARTS Though more than 1.6 million loan applications were greenlighted through the Small Business Administration's Paycheck Protection Program (PPP), delays have been endemic from the start. With the initiative facing persistent criticism, the stakes were high for its second round. As the PPP resumed, some banks reported problems entering loan-application information on the first day. But by the next day, $52 billion in loans had been approved.

"SMALL" BUSINESS Delays hadn't been the only cause for criticism. With thousands of small employers left in the cold after funding dried up, reports that Big Business got in on the relief prompted national backlash. According to a list compiled by data analysis firm FactSquared, over 250 publicly traded companies accessed the PPP funds. Some, like restaurant chains Ruth's Chris Steak House and Shake Shack, announced they would give back the millions they received.

FIGHTING WORDS To avoid a repeat, Congress set aside $60 billion for small lenders in the new PPP funding, and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin said the government will audit companies that receive more than $2 million. "The purpose of this program was not social welfare for Big Business," he said April 28 on CNBC. The numbers reflect that promise—by April 29, new loans averaged about half the size of those in the first round—but as the pandemic continues, auditors won't be the only ones keeping an eye on the program. —ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA

NEWS TICKER

Florida felon-voting trial begins

A class-action trial began on April 27, more than a year after voters opted to re-enfranchise Florida residents who complete felony sentences. The GOP-controlled legislature later required that felons first pay **all court fees, fines and restitution,** effectively revoking the franchise for many.

COVID-19 set to hit fragile countries hard

There could be up to **1 billion infections and 3.2 million deaths** from COVID-19 in 34 of the world's most "fragile" countries—including Venezuela, Libya and Syria—according to an analysis released on April 28 by the International Rescue Committee. Given limitations to the data, the estimate is likely conservative, the aid group said.

Navy probing *Roosevelt* outbreak

The Navy is opening a wider inquiry into decisions surrounding a **COVID-19 outbreak on the U.S.S. *Theodore Roosevelt,*** the service branch said on April 29. A leaked memo asking for help with the virus on the ship led to the ouster of the carrier's captain, Brett Crozier, and the resignation of acting Navy Secretary Thomas Modly.

NEWS TICKER

Protests turn violent in Lebanon

Protesters clashed with security forces in cities across Lebanon on April 28 after **a surge in food prices and a crash in the local currency,** as a lockdown to fight COVID-19 worsens the economic crisis that Lebanon has been facing since October. At least one man died in the unrest.

N.Y. Dems nix presidential primary

New York's Democratic presidential primary was canceled on April 27 by state officials, who cited coronavirus risks. Former Vice President Joe Biden has already presumptively secured the nomination, but the decision **drew outrage from supporters of Bernie Sanders,** who saw the vote as a chance to influence the party platform.

New 'coup' attempt in Libya

Libyan warlord Khalifa Haftar, whose forces swept across the nation in 2019 and cornered the U.N.-backed government around the capital, **declared the country's U.N.-brokered power-sharing deal a "thing of the past"** on April 27. The Tripoli government accused Haftar of carrying out a "coup" to "cover up his repeated defeats."

GOOD QUESTION

Could Kim Jong Un's sister be North Korea's next leader?

A SWIRL OF UNCONFIRMED REPORTS IN April about the health of North Korean leader Kim Jong Un raised many questions about the future of the hermit state. Perhaps the biggest of all: Who will succeed the Supreme Leader if something happens to him?

South Korea says there is no sign of "unusual developments" in the North, but Kim—who is in his mid-30s—missed the April 15 birthday of his grandfather, the country's founder, and hasn't been seen publicly since. He is a heavy smoker, and medical experts believe he is obese. Some observers have speculated that the leader may be hiding out to avoid COVID-19. North Korea maintains that the country remains free of the coronavirus, though experts are skeptical.

Against this backdrop, one name keeps cropping up: Kim Yo Jong. She is Kim Jong Un's younger sister and believed to be one of his most trusted aides. She is thought to be about 32 and, like her brother, spent several years attending school in Switzerland, according to Cheong Seong-chang, director of the Center for North Korean Studies at the Sejong Institute in South Korea. Her public profile within the secretive regime has been on the rise: she attended the 2018 Winter Olympics in PyeongChang and was also spotted with her brother at the failed summit with U.S. President Donald Trump in February 2019. In April, she was appointed an alternate member of the country's powerful decisionmaking body, the Politburo of the Workers' Party Central Committee.

Still, it's far from certain that a young woman, even one with the Kim lineage, could take the reins in North Korea, which is a highly patriarchal society, says Mintaro Oba, a former U.S. State Department official. Though the U.S. has placed sanctions on the regime for assassinating at least one potential rival in the family, there are other members of the Kim family who could be eligible. Details about Kim Jong Un's children are closely guarded, but some believe he may have a young son. His uncle Kim Pyong Il returned to North Korea last year after decades overseas, but is not considered to be from the same divine bloodline as the late leader Kim Jong Il because he had a different mother, Cheong says. Kim Jong Un's older brother is another possible choice, though he was passed over for the job when their father died in 2011 because he was not considered "leadership material," says Lami Kim, a fellow at the Wilson Center.

The uncertainty means that a change in the country's leadership runs the risk of destabilizing the nuclear-armed regime. Oba says that any successor will need to focus on consolidating power, warding off threats and demonstrating strength, much as Kim Jong Un did when he assumed control in 2011. That would likely mean less diplomacy and a return to military provocations, even nuclear and missile tests—which would once again raise tensions with the U.S.

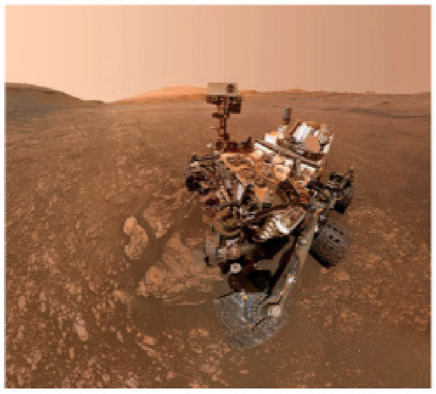
—AMY GUNIA *and* CHARLIE CAMPBELL

ENTERTAINMENT

Cybersightseeing

People staying home to fight the spread of COVID-19 are finding new ways to see the world—for example, visiting Mecca digitally for Ramadan. Here, other virtual escapes. —*Madeline Roache*

LAPLAND LEISURE
Aurora photography company Lights Over Lapland created a series of 360-degree videos in Abisko, Sweden. Users can tour the famous Icehotel, chase the northern lights, and join reindeer rides and dogsleds.



WALK ON MARS
The online virtual reality experiment Access Mars offers anyone with an Internet connection a guided tour of a 3-D model of the Martian surface, as recorded by NASA's Curiosity rover rolling around the Red Planet.

SOFA SAFARI
Broadcaster WildEarth lets people attend a twice-daily animal-watching drive from a game reserve in South Africa, where they can see cheetah cubs trying to climb trees and many other scenes of wilderness.

ROVER: HO—NASA/JPL-CALTECH/MSSS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; FUNERAL: JUSTIN LANE—EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK; KNIGHT: METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER/GETTY IMAGES

Milestones

DIED
Internationally famous Bollywood star **Irrfan Khan,** at 53, on April 29, after a two-year fight against cancer.

SHRANK
U.S. GDP, by 4.8% at an annualized rate in the first quarter of 2020, per figures released April 29—its first contraction since 2014.

DISMISSED
A challenge to a **New York City gun restriction,** by the U.S. Supreme Court, on April 27. The city had already repealed the rule in question when the court decided to hear the case.

DISPLACED
33.4 million people worldwide in 2019, the highest number newly forced to flee their homes since 2012, according to a report on internally displaced people by the Norwegian Refugee Council.

ENDED
Executions for **offenses committed by minors** in Saudi Arabia, per the state-backed Human Rights Commission.

FILED
A lawsuit against **Smithfield Foods,** for allegedly failing to protect workers at a Missouri pork plant from COVID-19, on April 23. On April 28, President Trump signed an Executive Order compelling meat-processing plants to stay open during the pandemic.

BANNED
Horse-drawn carriages in Chicago, by the end of the year, after an April 24 city-council vote.

Funeral director Joe Neufeld Jr. with bodies at a Queens funeral home on April 26; COVID-19 has killed over 3,700 people in the borough

NOTED

U.S. virus deaths pass Vietnam War's

In less than four months

THE METAPHORS SUMMONED AGAINST THE COVID-19 pandemic are almost unfailingly military. Health workers toil on the front line. The virus is the enemy, battled against. And then there's the body count. On April 28, the number of people killed by the novel coronavirus inside the U.S. reached 58,365.

The figure was provided by Johns Hopkins University, where the Center for Systems Science and Engineering compiles what experts regard as the closest thing to an "official" count of deaths from COVID-19. Given certain realities—including shortfalls in testing, and deaths that occur at home—the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention acknowledged the same day that the actual number is significantly higher. Still, the figure carried weight, surpassing as it did the 58,220 American military deaths in the Vietnam War.

Vietnam was a uniquely corrosive conflict. It produced its own metaphors and lives in American memory as a misbegotten undertaking sold by deception. Officially, it spanned two decades, but almost all U.S. deaths came from 1965 to 1971, when casualty counts were as routine a part of nightly newscasts as the Dow Jones industrial average. The critic Michael J. Arlen coined the phrase *living-room war* to describe a conflict that had been going on so long, it seemed to have always been there, like the furniture.

Whatever we call the fast-moving confrontation with the coronavirus—the first death from which occurred in the U.S. only in January—it already qualifies as the kind of watershed that future events will be marked against. —KARL VICK

DIED

Shirley Knight

Authentic actor

By Marcia Cross

THINKING ABOUT WHAT I wanted to write about Shirley Knight, who died on April 22 at 83, I went back and looked at some of our work together on *Desperate Housewives.*

Instead of being sad about her not being with us anymore, I found myself laughing hysterically. Shirley, who got her first Oscar nomination in 1961 and had won three Emmy Awards by the time we worked together, played my dead husband's mother—and boy, did we get into it. Our characters were beautifully written, and we had a blast playing off each other. On camera, we sparred—and I once even slapped her across the face—but off camera, we got along famously. She was warm and funny and talked endlessly about her daughters, whom she loved dearly. She was a woman of no pretense, just a love of the work and of her life.

I always refer to her example when I think of myself as an actress aging in my profession: Do as Shirley did. Do the work, and all will be well.

Cross *is an actor*

As joblessness soars, food banks struggle to fill the hunger gap

By Abby Vesoulis/Dayton, Ohio

IN A MATTER OF MONTHS, 47-YEAR-OLD AQUANNA QUARLES saw her personal finances implode. First she totaled her car. Then the car she replaced the totaled one with was stolen. Then, in early March, her kitchen flooded. Quarles remembers thinking, “Oh my God, like what else could go wrong?”

In Ohio, where Quarles lives, the pandemic hit in mid-March. State government began issuing stay-at-home orders, closing schools and shuttering businesses to prevent the spread of COVID-19. By the end of the month, the rest of the country had followed suit, effectively stalling the U.S. economy and pushing millions out of work. Quarles, who works for a home health care company, saw her hours, and her weekly earnings, cut by about half.

In April, she came to the realization that for the first time in her life, she needed to go to a food bank. “This was my first time ever doing it,” she says. “If I don’t need it, I’m not gonna go. You know what I mean? But I needed it.”

On April 21, Quarles lined up in her car, along with thousands of other Ohioans, in the parking lot of Wright State University’s football stadium, where Dayton’s Foodbank, Inc. had set up an emergency drive-through donation center. On that day alone, the organization served 1,381 households and more than 4,500 individuals, according to its chief development officer, Lee Lauren Truesdale. After waiting in line for four hours, Quarles returned home with a couple of weeks’ worth of chicken cutlets, chickpeas, cucumbers, eggs, peach-flavored protein shakes, potatoes, rice and watermelons.

As droves of working- and middle-class Americans have lost their jobs—or, like Quarles, seen their hours cut dramatically—they’ve found themselves not only stuck at home but also on the brink of poverty. Many have lost their employer-sponsored health care; others have been buried by bills that didn’t stop rolling in when their paychecks did. On April 23, new federal numbers showed that 4.4 million people had filed for unemployment the previous week, bringing the total number of newly unemployed since mid-March to more than 26 million.

The aerial photographs of lines of cars snaking for miles outside food banks have become not only an enduring image of the crisis but also a lesson in the fragility of the American economy. As the year began, at least in macro terms, the U.S. was sailing through its longest expansion on record. Now, less than two months into a recession, tens of millions of Americans like Quarles are struggling to access even the most basic necessities. “Last week’s food-bank donor is this week’s food-bank client,” says Lisa Hamler-Fugitt of the Ohio Association of Foodbanks, which distributes resources to state food banks.

Food banks are in some ways the canary in the coal mine: often, people in dire circumstances need to eat long before government benefits begin kicking in. In mid-March, when Three Square Food Bank of Las Vegas was planning new drive-through food-distribution centers, it anticipated 200 to 250 cars per site per day. By mid-April, it was seeing six times as many: 1,200 cars at some of its sites, in queues that sometimes stretch for miles. Derrick Chubbs, who runs the Central Texas Food Bank, says its Travis County partners saw a 207% spike in new clients.

But as the newly needy line up for assistance in record numbers, and old clients become even more reliant on donations, half a dozen major food banks, facing steep financial and logistical hurdles of their own, tell TIME they are fighting to keep up with demand. Since March 1, says Hamler-Fugitt, “it’s been a bucket brigade on a five-alarm fire.”

^
Ohio activated about 400 National Guard personnel on March 18 to assist the state’s food banks

TECHNICAL SERGEANT SHANE HUGHES—U.S. AIR NATIONAL GUARD; ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

IN FATTER TIMES, food banks receive donations of shelf-stable items, like peanut butter and pasta, from restaurants, wholesalers, manufacturers and grocery chains. But over the past six weeks, those businesses have seen their own supplies dry up. Restaurants have closed, grocery stores are overrun, and wholesalers and

manufacturers are prioritizing shipping their products to retailers rather than charities. Food banks are “last in line,” says Kate Maehr, the executive director of the Greater Chicago Food Depository, which received 30% fewer food donations from nongovernment sources in March than it did a year ago.

“When the pandemic hit the supply chain, that spigot just shut off,” says Hamler-Fugitt. “We don’t have enough food in the system to keep up with this demand. We just don’t.”

As a result, some food banks have begun purchasing pantry items at or near retail prices—a financially unsustainable situation. When in-kind donations were coming in, supplying someone with 28 to 30 lb. of groceries cost the Central Texas Food Bank $5 per box, says Chubbs. These days, that cost is closer to $30—a sixfold increase. The organization anticipates demand for 25,000 boxes a week.

Some states are trying to help food charities meet this new influx. In mid-April, Ohio Governor Mike DeWine signed an executive order to provide the Ohio Association of Foodbanks a one-time $5 million appropriation on top of the $25 million the charity receives annually. While that’s a start, it’s likely nowhere near enough: the group estimates it will need $54 million per month to meet the projected demand.

In the past, when food banks in one state have been overrun—often after a regional disaster like flooding or a hurricane—food banks in other parts of the country have stepped up, supplementing staff and pantry items, says Elaine Waxman, a food-insecurity expert at the Urban Institute. But that’s not happening this time around. “Right now,” she says, “literally it’s a disaster in all 50 states.”

Finding enough staff to work at distribution centers is also a major problem. Typically, food banks rely on volunteers, many of whom are retired. But because people over 65 risk disproportionately severe symptoms from COVID-19, it’s too dangerous for many of them to take their normal volunteer shifts. While many food banks have been forced to close locations for lack of staff, others have transitioned to larger drive-through centers that require fewer volunteers per donation. Three Square, the Las Vegas food bank, suspended food distribution at 170 of its 180 partner organizations but added 21 new drive-through sites, according to chief operating officer Larry Scott. Several states, including Ohio, Texas, Michigan and Kentucky, have deployed the National Guard to help staff food-distribution centers.

SNAP provided the average recipient about **$1.40 per meal** in fiscal 2018

Demand for food assistance **surged 207%** in March at Central Texas Food Bank’s Travis County locations

Before COVID-19 caused a global pandemic, **11% of U.S. households** were food insecure

IT’S CLEAR THAT THE RUSH on food banks is not going away anytime soon. The aftermath of the Great Recession offers a bleak guide. In 2008, 15% of U.S. householders were “food insecure,” meaning they lacked consistent access to enough food for an active life, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It wasn’t until 2018—nearly a decade after the bottom dropped out of the market—that the proportion of food-insecure households rebounded to prerecession levels. There’s reason to think this recession will have a similarly long tail, says Maehr. “This is not going to be a crisis that’s measured in weeks,” she says. “I fear that this is a crisis that will be measured in months, and possibly years.”

Food banks are supposed to be a last resort, a stopgap and backup for government safety-net programs like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), known as food stamps. In 2019, SNAP provided nine meals for every meal provided by Feeding America, a national consortium of 200 food banks and 60,000 food pantries and meal programs. But applying for and renewing SNAP benefits requires overcoming a host of bureaucratic hurdles. And even those who qualify often still rely on food banks: the maximum SNAP benefit does not cover the cost of a nutritious meal in 99% of U.S. counties, according to a 2018 Urban Institute report. Until the USDA announced on April 22 a 40% increase in food-stamp benefits “during this national emergency,” the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimated the average SNAP recipient was allocated just $134 per month.

That boost in SNAP benefits, combined with partial unemployment insurance and, perhaps, more trips to the food bank, should help get Quarles through the crisis. It’s not going to be easy, but she has faith that her luck will soon turn. It just has to. “What I got out of all of this that happened,” she says, “was God is making better for new.” ☐

ANIMALS

Answering isolation with a foster pet

By Mahita Gajanan

Layla the dog waits as her foster paperwork is completed on March 24 in New Orleans

IN NORMAL TIMES, ANNE BONNEY WOULD NOT consider herself an ideal pet owner. The 46-year-old professional speaker usually spends lots of time on the road. But many of Bonney's upcoming events have been canceled or moved online amid the COVID-19 pandemic, which left her stuck at home in Traverse City, Mich. So when a friend who runs a rabbit-rescue center reached out about a fostering opportunity, she leaped at the chance. Now she's taking care of Pepper, whom she calls a "spunky little thing."

"I love animals and can't normally have them," says Bonney, who's allergic to cats and dogs. Pepper gives Bonney something to look forward to between endless online meetings, not to mention a distraction from world events. "I can go in and sit with her. She has fun; I have fun."

Many other Americans are welcoming animals into their homes for companionship in isolation. "We have more people wanting to foster than we have pets," says Ginnie Baumann Robilotta, vice president of Animal Rescue New Orleans. Those who foster animals take them in on a temporary basis. Adoptions have also spiked; from March 11 to April 5, roughly twice as many dogs and cats were adopted from the shelter compared with a year ago. "In spite of the uncertainty of what's going to happen, the love of an animal is going to change people's lives," says Baumann Robilotta.

Fostering requests are up about 90% nationwide, says Kitty Block, president and CEO of the Humane Society of the United States. "People are home, working remotely, feeling socially isolated ... Having that dog or cat or hamster does make a big difference," says Block.

The fostering boom is helping shelters and rescues too. As donations dry up and workers or volunteers stay home during the pandemic, having fewer animals on hand helps shelters focus on the remaining critters, and new ones that arrive.

Shelters are also careful to ensure that people who foster or adopt in this moment understand they're taking on a new responsibility for the long haul. "They're having thoughtful, smart conversations about what it means to bring an animal into your home," says Block.

TAKING IN A FOSTER DOG has given Aditi Srivastav a newfound sense of purpose amid the pandemic. Srivastav, 30, has been particularly worried about her husband, a geriatric nurse practitioner who's working long hours and putting himself in danger of contracting COVID-19. But during a late-March home visit with a patient in rural South Carolina, Srivastav's husband found an injured, abandoned dog and took him home.

At first, Srivastav grappled with the burden of tending to a hurt animal. "Feeling the helplessness that I'm not a vet, I cried," she says. She soon had a change of heart. "I realized it was the first time in two weeks of this self-quarantine that I felt some sort of contentment that I'm doing something that's helping," she says.

Now Srivastav and the pup—named Battle after a veterinarian who saved his life—are attached to each other. "Getting that gratification, that immediate response of 'Wow, I did something,' is hard because so many things have moved online," she says. "But you feel more content that maybe something good is coming out of spending time at home."

The company of an animal in need can be particularly soothing for those truly self-isolating. Barry Stewart, a professor at Mississippi State University, is living apart from his wife, an emergency-room doctor. She usually travels between their home in Starkville, Miss., and her job in Memphis, but she's been staying in Memphis to avoid bringing the virus back home. She also took their dog, Bradley, with her, leaving Stewart alone. After the local humane society put out a notice seeking foster parents, Stewart, 57, came home with a lab–pit bull mix he's been calling Alexa. He's not sure if he'll keep her forever—that's for Bradley to decide when he gets home, Stewart says—but he appreciates her company for now. "It's been great to have her during this time," Stewart says. "She gets me outside. We walk around the neighborhood, look at things. Otherwise I'd be alone."

35

The number of pets now at one New York City shelter; it usually has more than 500

90%

The spike in fostering requests nationwide, according to the Humane Society

0

The out-of-pocket vet fee for fostering a pet at Animal Rescue New Orleans

CHRIS GRAYTHEN—GETTY IMAGES

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Labor leader **Mary Kay Henry** is fighting for frontline workers in a new world

By Alana Semuels

IN NORMAL TIMES, MARY KAY HENRY, THE president of the second largest union in the U.S., flies around the country meeting with workers, politicians and policymakers, arguing that the nearly 2 million Americans she represents deserve more. Now, in an age of pandemic, as her members—the janitors and food-service employees and airport and home-care workers of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)—are asked to put their lives on the line by going in to work, Henry is fighting for them from a downstairs apartment in San Francisco.

On a recent Wednesday, Henry, 62, sat on a chair padded with a cushion in front of a poster board featuring the SEIU logo, wearing her signature purple glasses and a deep purple blazer (purple is the color of the SEIU), encouraging fast-food workers in Chicago who had walked off the job to protest a lack of masks and gloves at work. Later, she hopped on a Zoom call with home-care workers who talked about making masks out of paper towels and worrying about their lack of paid sick days, raising her fists in the air when a worker vowed to tackle the racism that COVID-19 has laid bare. "Amen," she says. "I agree."

THE STORIES HENRY'S BEEN HEARING over the past few weeks have been grim—record unemployment and talk of the looming recession bringing more job cuts, even as union members risk their lives going to work now. Some members have died. Yet in these stories, Henry finds proof that the pandemic could lead to change.

"Somebody said to me yesterday, 'You know all those crazy ideas that you walk around talking about, well, this is the time your ideas should get crazier, Mary Kay, because anything could happen, it's all up for grabs,'" she tells me, after one of her long days on phone calls, stretching out at a wooden table by a window that looks out into San Francisco's Castro neighborhood, wrapping a purple blanket around her shoulders. The SEIU has already secured some victories in these uncertain times: different member unions have negotiated childcare-assistance grants, hazard pay, extended health care and additional paid leave for members.

Still, this wasn't the way Henry envisioned a labor revolution. In an August speech in Milwaukee, Henry appealed for a new approach to organizing, which she called Unions for All, arguing that every single worker in America should be allowed to join a union. She was conferring with various Democratic presidential contenders, saying an endorsement depended on support for this proposal, when the coronavirus struck.

Though Henry dedicated the early days of the coronavirus to listening to workers and sharing their stories with elected officials, it soon became clear to her that the pandemic represented an opportunity to move on Unions for All, albeit in a different way. On March 18, the SEIU launched a campaign called Protect All Workers that demanded certain protections for every worker, whether or not they belonged to a union. The demands included fully funded health care, 12 weeks of paid leave, free COVID-19 testing and treatment, access to personal protective equipment and financial support for working families. "It seemed natural to pivot," she says. "If we were demanding unions for all and if you could imagine all workers being in an organized union—What set of demands would workers be making at this moment on government and corporations?"

Henry says the crisis has given a push to workers who were already frustrated about stagnant wages, a limited safety net and income inequality in America. "We're going to see mass organizing the likes of which last occurred in the '30s in the Great Depression," she predicts, leaning forward toward her computer as her earrings jangle. "It's like there was a haystack and a match was thrown in by COVID-19."

IT WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT to confuse Mary Kay Henry with Elizabeth Warren. Both are progressive white women with glasses, short tawny hair and awkward but endearing enthusiasm—Henry's was on full show when she tried to lead a chant of *"Sí, se puede"* during a Facebook Live event with fast-food workers. Both are pushing positions that might have been deemed too populist a few years ago—better wages and paid family and medical leave for all workers, higher taxes on corporations.

Henry also shares Warren's middle-class background. She was raised Catholic in a suburb of Detroit, the oldest girl of 10 siblings, and became interested in organizing because it was she who had to get everyone up, dressed and onto the school bus every morning. She soon learned that it was important to deputize—if one sibling fixed breakfast, another could help the younger kids get dressed—and that her brothers and sisters could accomplish more as a team than they could on their own. Henry has spent her whole career with the SEIU, much of it in California.

Henry, who is now based in Washington, D.C., was on a business trip in Sacramento when the

HENRY QUICK FACTS

Labor studies
In college, Henry's interest in labor was piqued by United Auto Workers' advocating for women's health on the assembly line.

Book club
Henry has been reading Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography and William P. Young's *The Shack.*

Fast-food union
The SEIU helped found the Fight for $15 movement in New York. It has spread to dozens of states and more than 320 cities.

TOM WILLIAMS—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

shelter-in-place orders started coming down. Even though she had only packed for a short trip, Henry settled in with her spouse, Paula Macchello, who lives in the couple's home in San Francisco. Henry now works both East Coast and West Coast hours, embarking on long walks around the hills of San Francisco with Macchello in the late afternoon. "I don't think we've spent this much time together for 20 years," Henry jokes.

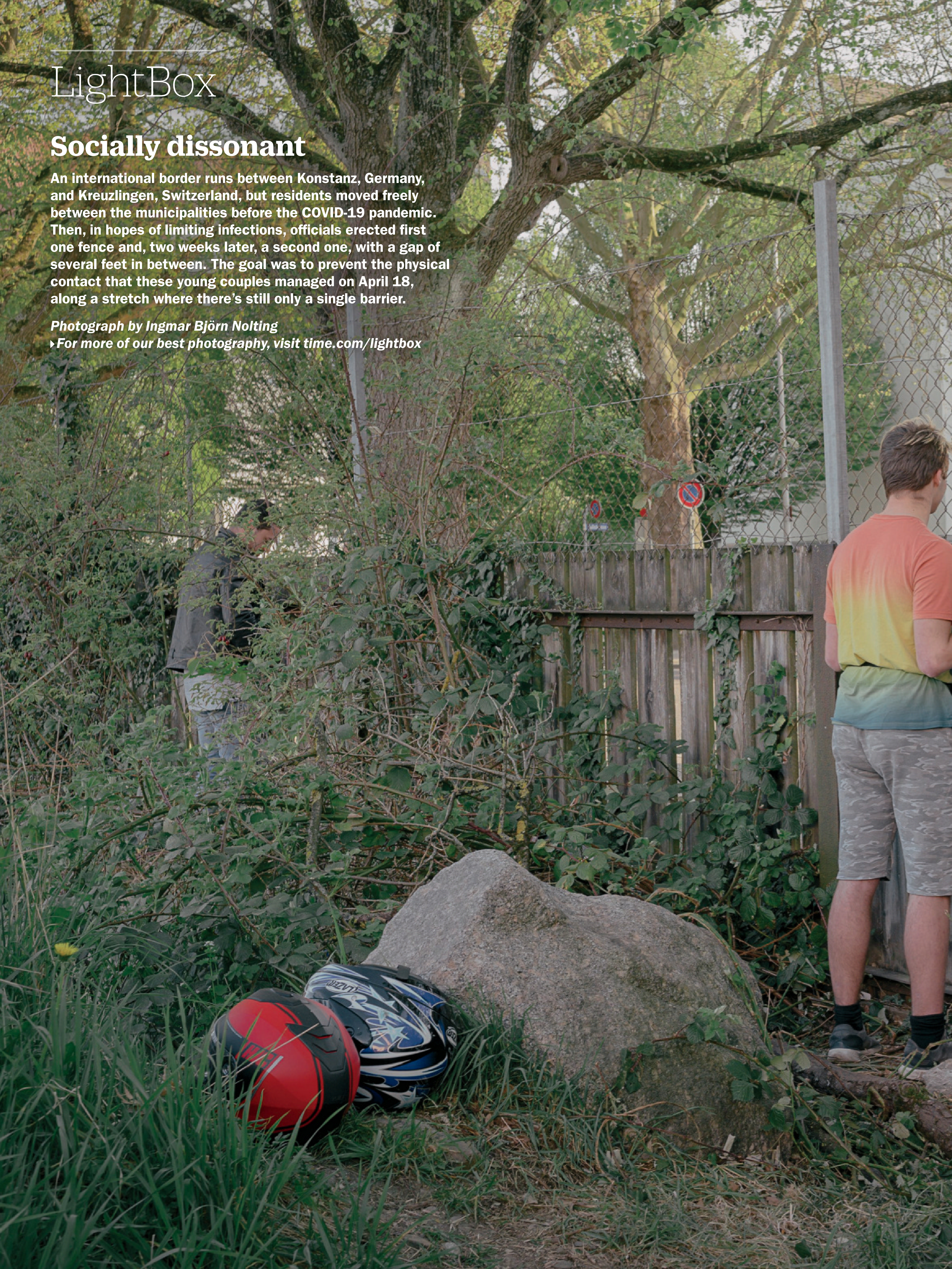
Henry became the president of the SEIU in 2010, replacing Andy Stern, a controversial labor figure who successfully organized new members and grew the union during his tenure but also sparred with other unions. Henry was seen as a consensus builder when elected, and in many ways she embodies the opposite of a firebrand male leader; she listens carefully to workers, telling their stories, speaking little of herself. "My experience is when people understand what the janitor in Houston is confronting or what the home-care worker in Santa Clara is confronting, a lot of elected officials and many employers want to solve the problem," she says. She has expanded the union to focus not just on collective bargaining but also on raising wages and benefits for all workers, including those not in a union.

This would not seem to be a good time to organize workers. Recessions undercut the bargaining power of labor unions, and both states and the federal government have made organizing more challenging in recent years. Just 11.6% of U.S. workers were represented by unions last year, compared with 15% in 2000.

But this doesn't daunt Henry. Even before COVID-19, she says, people like teachers and tech workers were starting to protest the widening inequality in the U.S. economy, even if they didn't belong to unions. There are millions of people whose situation has been made even more precarious by the pandemic, people who have lost jobs and whom the SEIU wants to bring into its fold. "People want community and to understand they're part of something bigger," she says. "That they're not on their own and having to fend for themselves in this really unprecedented and sometimes horrific and sometimes inspiring moment that we're in." ☐

'We're going to see mass organizing the likes of which last occurred in the '30s in the Great Depression.'

MARY KAY HENRY,
on the response
to the pandemic



Socially dissonant

An international border runs between Konstanz, Germany, and Kreuzlingen, Switzerland, but residents moved freely between the municipalities before the COVID-19 pandemic. Then, in hopes of limiting infections, officials erected first one fence and, two weeks later, a second one, with a gap of several feet in between. The goal was to prevent the physical contact that these young couples managed on April 18, along a stretch where there's still only a single barrier.

Photograph by Ingmar Björn Nolting

▸*For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox*

TIME for KiDS

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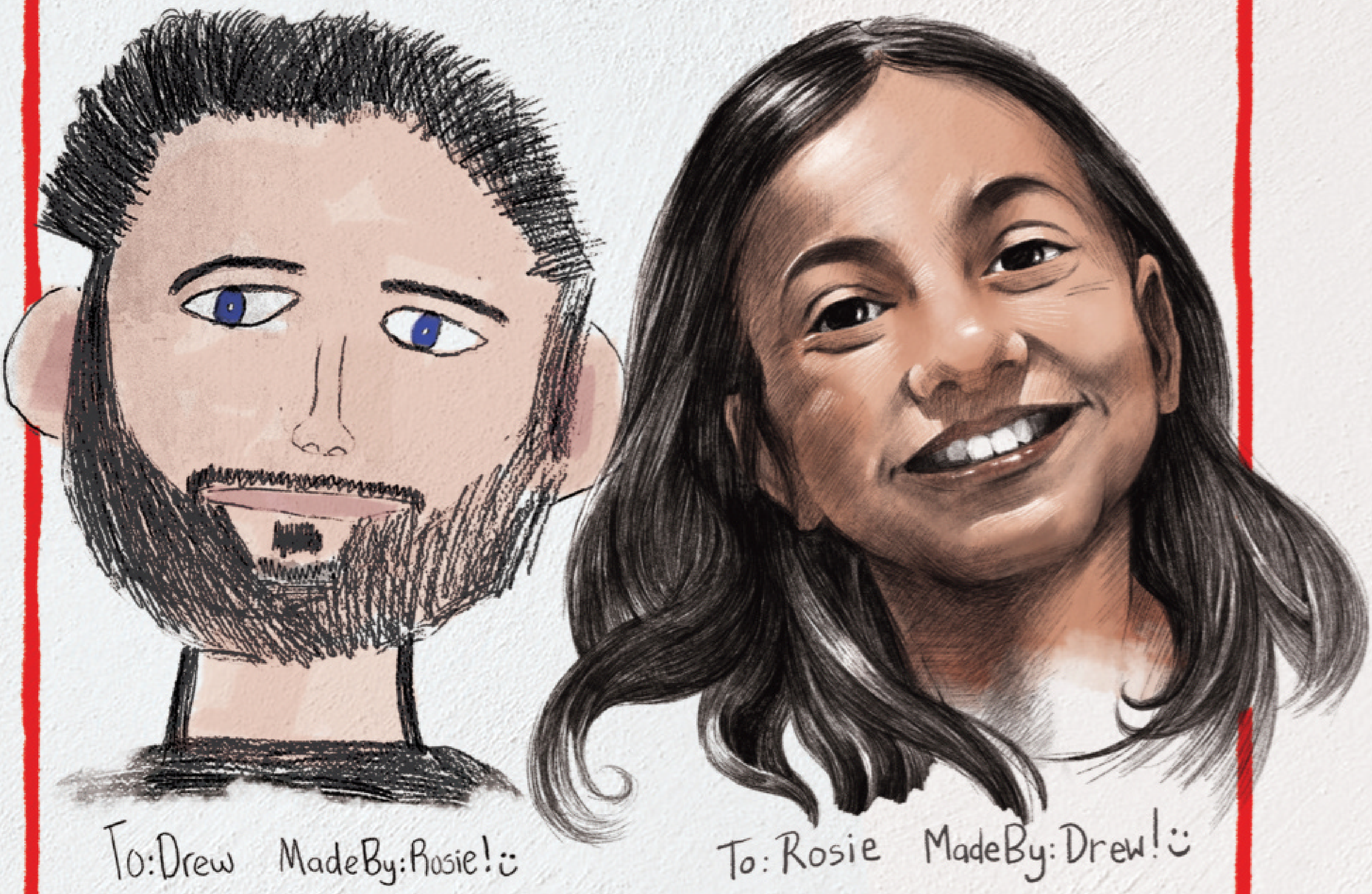
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EDUCATION

WHY I SAID NO TO REMOTE SCHOOL

By Sarah Parcak

On April 8, we received an email from our son's teacher about the start of online schooling. We wrote back that same day saying that for the sake of our mental health—mine, my husband's, our child's—he was done with first grade. "You're a wonderful, caring, compassionate teacher," we told her, "and our son was lucky to have you for as long as he did." ▶

INSIDE

BRAZIL FACES A LOOMING POLITICAL CRISIS

PLANNING ON ANOTHER CHILD, NOT ON A PANDEMIC

A STAY-AT-HOME ADMIRAL, SCHOOLED ON WORRY

Like other parents with the ability to work from home, my husband and I recently found ourselves in an untenable position: If you have a full-time job, how exactly are you supposed to also take care of your children now that schools are closed, much less facilitate their remote learning?

My husband and I are professors at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, and we knew that attempting to adhere to an elementary-school schedule, while contending with the busiest part of the semester alongside other work commitments and virtual meetings, would only lead to additional stress and frustration for all of us. So rather than try to do the impossible, we decided to do what made the most sense for our family, shielding our 7-year-old from unnecessary worry in the process. As we told his teacher, “Seeing his classmates would make this all far, far worse for him and would lead to questions that we cannot answer honestly.”

What we want most right now is for our child to feel safe and secure, and we know that’s often accomplished through routine. And so we have tried to establish one: we eat breakfast, I go for a run, we have our son read, then he and my husband play. By midmorning, we all head outside to work in the garden and do chores: weeding, painting, cleaning. Then the rest of the day, my husband and I trade off on childcare and work. My son regularly has Zoom playdates with friends.

The author’s son and husband on a hike on April 11

We knew when we made our decision that pausing our son’s schooling would not mean pausing his learning. As Egyptologists and archaeologists, my husband and I talk nonstop about history, science and exploration, and we have photos and maps of Egypt everywhere. We use age-appropriate language, and our son always asks when he does not understand a term or concept. We also supplement his formal education with outside enrichment like history books, TED-Ed and educational YouTube videos, art and history documentaries.

Will he be “behind” as a result of missing two months of worksheets and phonics? Behind compared to what, or whom? This might be different if he were older and more self-sufficient and in a grade where the curriculum is more set, but as long as he reads every day, practices his writing and uses his imagination, we aren’t worried about him being ready for the second grade. His happiness and well-being matter more.

WE UNDERSTAND VERY WELL our privilege and talk to our son often about just how lucky he is. We have enough food, a yard and jobs that are not on the front lines in hospitals or stocking shelves. We know that not all families can do what we are doing.

We’re also aware that this stay-at-home situation might not be as temporary as we’d all like to believe. That’s why we need to be having conversations now about the next school year. What will parents be expected to do if schools are closed and many of our jobs are still remote?

Until we get a vaccine and millions of tests a week—neither of which appears imminent—it seems unlikely we’ll be back in school for a while. And yet six weeks into this crisis, we’re all running on fumes. I don’t know a single parent with a young child who is O.K., and I cannot imagine what we’ll all be like after three, six or even 12 months.

School districts need to focus more on Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, making sure students are safe and have good access to food and clothes. That comes before worksheets, which many parents cannot even print out at home. They need to think about how their plans can reflect those priorities going forward.

What our family is doing is a stopgap, but it’s not a solution—not for us, not for our son and not for our society. I don’t have the answer. All I can know is that responding with love feels right in this moment, and I hope my son remembers that he was loved deeply every day during this crisis.

Parcak is a professor of anthropology at the University of Alabama at Birmingham and the author of Archaeology From Space: How the Future Shapes Our Past

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

On the brink

The childcare industry needs public investment to survive the pandemic, writes Vote Mama founder Liuba Grechen Shirley, but it’s received relatively little in stimulus funds: **“The question of when America will go back to work has dominated the public discourse, but whenever that happens, who will watch our children?”**

Prisons laid bare

As the coronavirus spreads through our jails and prisons, it’s exposing a pre-existing crisis, according to former U.S. attorney Joyce White Vance: **“Our penal system has done little to relieve overcrowding and provide humane conditions for those in custody.”**

Rural rout

Given their insufficient public-health infrastructure and medical resources, rural areas will likely be hit hard by COVID-19, writes Jennifer Olsen, executive director of the Rosalynn Carter Institute for Caregiving: **“It is far more likely that rural Americans with symptoms will opt to tough it out at home, and only once very sick seek care.”**

COURTESY SARAH PARCAK; WASPS: PHOTOQUEST/GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

Brazil’s President snagged by both pandemic and scandal

By Ian Bremmer

WHICH MAJOR country now faces the world’s worst political mess? Which head of state finds himself in deepest trouble? There’s a good case to be made for Brazil and its President.

It’s easy to think of Jair Bolsonaro as just another of the world’s antiestablishment firebrands now grappling with the realities of governing, but he is more colorful and combative than most. His taste for a fight helped distinguish him within a large field of candidates during his country’s 2018 presidential election, but now he finds himself forced into a corner.

Bolsonaro’s first political problem is that he has few reliable allies in Brazil’s Congress. He leads a party new to power that often lacks a coherent agenda, and as a self-described corruption fighter, he has refused to make the cozy deals with lawmakers of other parties designed to advance his plans. His verbal attacks on minorities, homosexuals and women have stiffened the spines of his enemies. He has angered environmentalists at home and many governments abroad with policies that enable large-scale deforestation in the Amazon.

Despite slow testing, Brazil now leads Latin America both in confirmed COVID-19 cases and in deaths

THERE ARE further controversies taking a toll on the President’s political standing. First, there is his management of the coronavirus crisis. Bolsonaro, fearful for the health of Brazil’s fragile economy, bitterly attacked regional governors for imposing lockdowns, personally joined in protests against social distancing and fired his popular Health Minister, who had urged a more aggressive strategy to contain the virus. Despite a slow rate of testing, Brazil now leads Latin America both in confirmed COVID-19 cases and in deaths in absolute terms—with more per capita than some of its smaller neighbors.

Bolsonaro’s latest problem: corruption accusations from the country’s most credible source. Former judge Sérgio Moro led investigations that forced the imprisonment of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and the impeachment of his successor, Dilma Rousseff. It was Moro who then gave Bolsonaro added crime-fighting bona fides by joining his government as Justice Minister. But Moro resigned in April after Bolsonaro fired the head of Brazil’s federal police, who was leading investigations into the President’s sons for alleged kickback schemes and promotion of the spread of misinformation. Moro didn’t just resign. He announced his departure with a 40-minute speech in which he accused the President of political interference in police work. Bolsonaro responded by calling Moro a liar. The name-calling has continued, and doubts about the President’s future have deepened.

Now, in the middle of its fight with coronavirus, Brazil finds itself again in political crisis. Of the six Presidents who preceded Bolsonaro, two were impeached and another went to prison. Bolsonaro isn’t yet facing those dangers.

The respite may be temporary. The health crisis will get worse. Regional governors have ordered local lockdowns, yet the number of those infected and the stresses on Brazil’s health system continue to grow. Given his aggressive public stance, the President will not escape blame if the public believes his policies have cost lives.

Finally, serious economic fallout is inevitable. Brazil’s economy was already suffering the loss of demand for its commodities from a slowing China, and the collapse of global oil prices made matters far worse. Economists at global bank Citi are now forecasting for 2020 Brazil’s “worst annual contraction ever.”

As a candidate, Bolsonaro demonstrated broad appeal and considerable political talent. He’ll need both now.

HISTORY

Start journaling now, for later

I often tell my students you don’t want to be interesting to doctors or historians. Yet here we are, in interesting times for both. The medical field is already studying COVID-19, and historians will get started in 30 years or so. By then they’ll have perspective, as well as public sources, from government documents to tweets. But to preserve the stories that are so often lost to the past, they’ll need our help—and that’s why we should all be keeping coronavirus journals.

When I began studying the Women Airforce Service Pilots of World War II, I looked first at official sources, but it was clear that part of the story was missing. Why did they do it? How did they feel? For that, I turned to the women’s diaries. News often made it into the journals too, and with it their understanding of the yet undetermined path of the war.

Now we are part of our own historical moment in time. Our chance to control some of that narrative is in our hands. If we don’t want to be forgotten later, we must start writing down our own experiences now.

—Katherine Sharp Landdeck, author of The Women With Silver Wings

A trio of Women Airforce Service Pilots, circa 1944

The pandemic has put our dreams of another baby on hold

By Anna Schuettge

DURING A QUARANTINE OUTING TO OUR LOCAL PARK THIS week, my toddler son ran around kicking his big red ball. I watched him chase after it and then collect treasures to share with his Elmo doll sitting in the stroller. And I yearned for him to have a playmate. Not just any playmate—a sibling.

Many of my friends told me they felt a switch flip when their kids hit 15 months and all of a sudden they felt ready to do it all again. For me, 15 months came and went with no great change. So did 18 and 20. For a brief moment, my husband and I thought we were happy having our one wonderful child. But in the early months of 2020, as my son's second birthday drew near, we were hit by a feeling of readiness that was forceful and unwavering. Remembering how special it had been for both of us to grow up with a sibling close in age, and wanting the same kind of companionship for our son, we had planned to try for another child this spring.

Then COVID-19 happened. Between overall economic uncertainty, fears over our own job security and a new reality in which it's unsafe to even visit playgrounds, the prospect of bringing another child into the world became more complicated. Will this pandemic last three months or two years? When we come out on the other side, will we have the support of four healthy grandparents and the assurance of two full-time careers? With the passing of my 35th birthday this month, I'm now considered geriatric when it comes to pregnancy. Will I be able to conceive when this is over?

I WORK AS a pediatric nurse practitioner and lactation consultant, and I have witnessed firsthand the profound anxiety of having a baby in this moment. Moms are being discharged from hospitals more and more quickly to reduce the possibility of exposure to the virus, forced to forgo around-the-clock postnatal care. They are coming home to houses devoid of loving friends and family and home-cooked meals.

Women nearing their due dates had no way of knowing they'd be delivering in these circumstances. But armed with both birth control and evolving scientific information about this virus, I have some ability to predict whether I'll carry and deliver my next child during this pandemic. If going to the grocery store is risky, why would I choose to have my IUD removed and make regular visits to health care facilities (beyond what my work requires), with the goal of being admitted to a hospital—arguably one of the scariest places to be right now?

And so my husband and I have decided to wait. Millions of people have lost jobs and struggle to afford housing and food. Thousands upon thousands mourn family and friends lost to COVID-19, or grieve losses unrelated to the virus but for which the comfort taken in normal rituals is not an option. I acknowledge that having children five years apart rather than three—if we are fortunate enough to have another—is, in the greater context of today's crisis, a privileged problem to have. Still, I am giving myself space to feel the loss of the family life that I had envisioned.

I look at my family of three and feel the absence of that fourth person—one who has yet to even be conceived

In recent weeks, two close friends have brought new babies home, and I've found myself watching with longing as their toddlers became big brothers and sisters. I look at my family of three and feel the absence of that fourth person—one who has yet to even be conceived. I regret that we didn't try sooner and can't help dwelling on what it will be like to wait to grow our family until we feel safe again, whenever that may be.

Our son is a shining light in these dark and uncertain times. He is fascinated by dandelions and fire trucks and endlessly entertained by the suburban town to which we have been confined during this time of quarantine. He's totally fine—happy and thriving. But he doesn't know that if not for a pandemic, he might have had a close-in-age sibling.

Schuettge is a pediatric nurse practitioner and lactation consultant in Philadelphia

ILLUSTRATION BY ATELIER KARSTEN PETRAT FOR TIME

It's my turn to wait on the home front

By James Stavridis

THROUGHOUT MY FOUR DECADES IN THE NAVY, I SAILED ON my fair share of deployments, in both peace and war. Most were at least six months long, and during most of my time at sea, there was no reliable communication from the ship to my home—just scratchy HF transmissions over radio systems using military protocols to conduct the conversation, e.g., "I love you, over." Some of my deployments were relatively benign "show the flag" cruises with a variety of liberty ports along the way. Others were combat missions throughout the ongoing war on terrorism in the Middle East and Afghanistan.

During all of those deployments, my wife and our two daughters on the home front worried about and waited for me. For the vast majority of military personnel, I suspect, the forward deployments were simply integral to the career we had chosen. I didn't overthink the risks or the separations, but dealt with them as steadily as I could. If I'm being honest, I had only a vague sense of how the stresses of those long deployments affected my family back in home port, but I never fully appreciated how much they worried about me—until now.

Today's war against coronavirus is not my fight. But my daughters both grew up and married physicians, and one of my girls is a registered nurse herself. So, suddenly I find myself not the one forward-deployed in danger, but the one at home worried about my children as they face this "invisible enemy." I find myself at home awaiting word from them each day and worrying if they are O.K., if they are still healthy. In my mind, my family members are representative of the millions of men and women who are putting on those N95 masks, elastic gloves, face shields and gowns—armoring up—and going into combat day after day. The vast majority are stalwart, brave, relentless and uncomplaining warriors on behalf of all of us. I worry desperately about all of those medical warriors, and especially those in my own family who are sailing in harm's way.

AS WE SAY to our military personnel in this country, we should be saying to them, "Thank you for your service." One thing I've learned about those in the medical profession is how hard they work. And not just in the time of coronavirus. They work hard studying endlessly, doing demanding practical internships and residencies, learning the hard way about the consequences of decisions they make, and dealing with the sheer physical work of nursing and doctoring. The other thing I've learned is how much they care—about their patients, about outcomes, and about the country and its health.

The second thing I've learned being on this side of the deployment experience is that as citizens we should be pushing our elected officials to properly equip these medical warriors. After the urgency of dealing with the virus passes, there will be time to build truly strategic stockpiles (ventilators and personal protective equipment) for the next pathogens. When I was forward-deployed, I counted on having the right equipment in hand, and my nation never let me down. That cannot be said for the medical warriors of today. We can and must do better.

Third, I've learned how impressive this millennial generation is turning out to be. We are justifiably proud of our WW II "greatest generation," most of whom are at greatest risk from this virus. But I have come to know the millennials well. It is a big generation of 75 million Americans who in my experience are deeply concerned about having a positive impact on the world; think selflessly about civic responsibility and the greater good; and are unusually willing to serve others. Many deployed and fought in the military in the "forever wars," and many more have chosen paths of service. I suspect that this millennial generation will become a so-called hero generation, not only for its leading role in overcoming coronavirus but for facing other challenges as well.

Admiral Stavridis with his wife Laura, rear, and their daughters Julia, left, and Christina

As I sit at home social-distancing, my days of forward deployments are in the wake of my life's voyage, but I am privileged to watch my family members go forward into the fight for our nation's health and economy. I am deeply proud of what they are offering to the country, how they fearlessly step into the flow of history despite all the personal risks it entails and, above all, how willing they are to serve us. There are so many ways to serve this country. But in this time of true emergency, we should be particularly glad for our medical professionals, and thank them sincerely and constantly.

Stavridis was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander of NATO. His latest book is Sailing True North

COURTESY JAMES STAVRIDIS

STATE OF E

Cut loose by Trump, America’s governors are look

Pandemic lockdowns have brought life to a halt in towns like Salisbury, Md., pictured here on April 11, emptying normally teeming public spaces like the parking lot of the Wicomico High School and stadium, right

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
PETER VAN AGTMAEL FOR TIME

MERGENCE

ing to one another for how to return to normal life

BY MOLLY BALL

LARRY HOGAN HAS GOT ANOTHER OF HIS ideas, and this one cracks him up. "I'm gonna call Pence!" says Hogan, startling his chief of staff, Matt Clark, who sits across a large, round faux-wood table. Hogan, the Republican governor of Maryland, is meeting with his coronavirus command team, a skeleton crew of state officials still reporting to the capitol in Annapolis. The conference rooms are all too narrow, so they are gathered in a cavernous event room, seated in alternate chairs to maintain social distancing. Hogan, a ruddy 63-year-old with jug-handle ears, has in front of him a dispenser of hand sanitizer, a can of Diet Coke and a starfish-shaped conference-call speaker.

The President, Hogan reminds the group, recently chided him for going around Vice President Mike Pence's coronavirus task force to procure supplies. "Remember, Trump said, 'He's wasting his time. He should've just called Mike!'" He laughs a wheezy laugh. "So I'm gonna joke with him and say, 'Hey, Mike, where's my tests? The President said I should just call you!' But then seriously say, 'You both said we can use federal labs. When can we start?'"

"Right. Got it," Clark says.

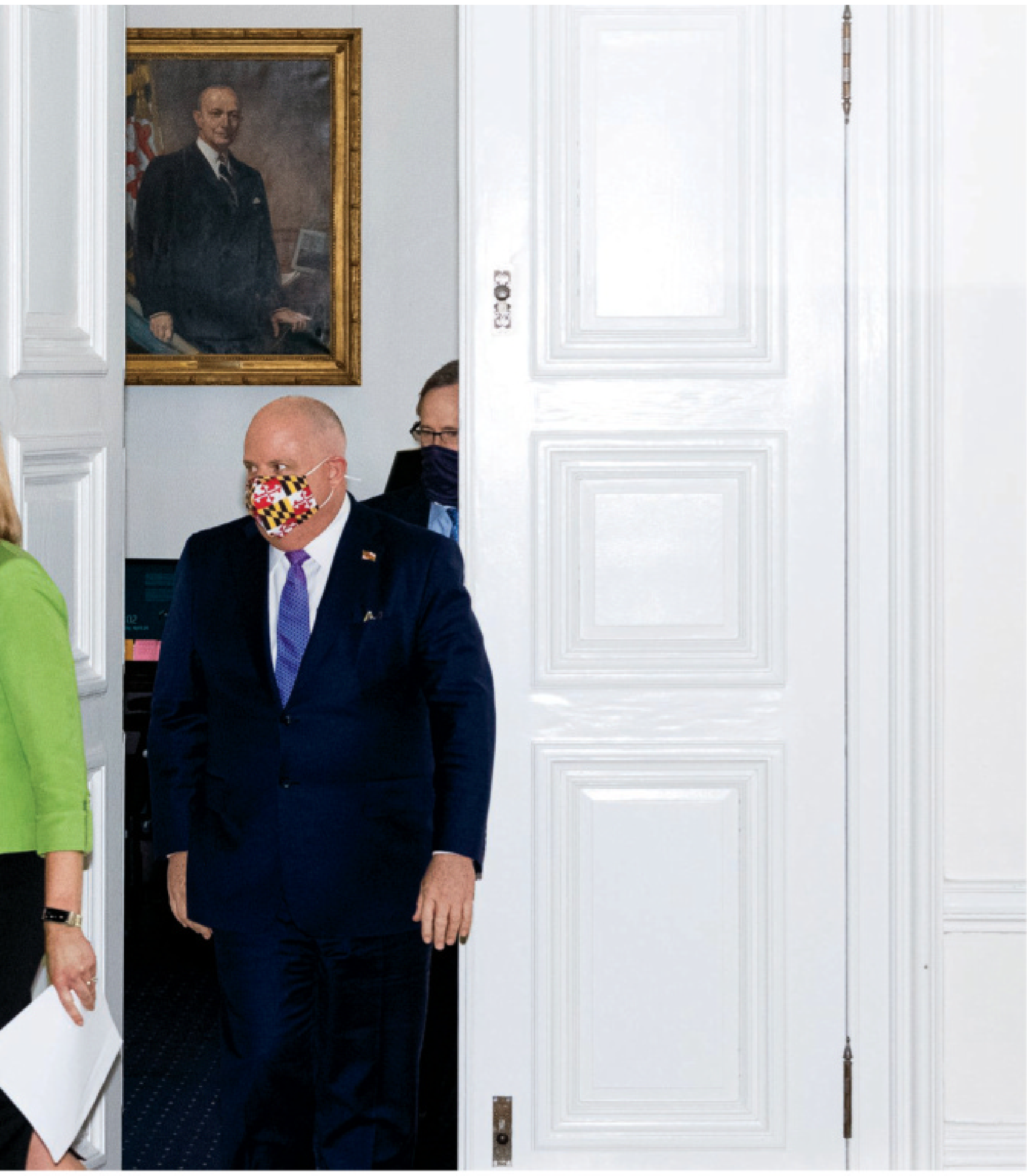
"I got a feeling they're gonna backpedal on all that," Hogan says.

Like every other governor in America, Hogan is dealing with a crisis for which there is no playbook. The team assembled here began its April 22 briefing on a somber note, as the state's health secretary, Bobby Neall, read off the numbers: 14,775 total confirmed cases of COVID-19, up 582 from the day before; 631 deaths in the past five weeks, up 47 from the previous day's count. Hogan was briefed about a possible outbreak at a chicken plant on the Delaware border and about a convention center being converted into a field hospital; he got word that his latest shipment of testing supplies from South Korea had arrived, greeted at Baltimore-Washington International Airport by his Korean-American wife Yumi with platters of crab cakes and kimchi.

Hogan has worked around the clock since declaring a state of emergency 48 days earlier, issuing 38 executive orders and calling up the state's National Guard. The closest thing he can imagine is a natural disaster, he says, but even that doesn't capture it. "This is like a hurricane that hits all 50 states every single day," he tells me later, crammed into a navy blue armchair in his spacious office decorated with memorabilia. "And it continues in intensity. It doesn't go away. It just keeps hitting, hitting, hitting."

From Tallahassee to Olympia, in big states and small, every governor in America has improvised something like this, scrambling to keep up with the outbreak. The governors are constantly comparing notes—in the past 24 hours, Hogan tells me, he's texted with New York Governor Andrew Cuomo, Illinois Governor J.B. Pritzker and Arizona Governor Doug Ducey. As chairman of the National Governors Association (NGA), Hogan has tried to coordinate their efforts, convening a series of calls in which they trade ideas and information.

The cooperation has been crucial. Governors will tell you they're always the officials whose leadership most directly affects people's lives. But that's been truer than ever in the current crisis, as Trump has been more occupied with defending his performance and casting blame than with mounting the kind of coordinated national effort that other countries' leaders have orchestrated. While the White House



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Hogan, wearing a mask decorated with Maryland's state flag, and his staff participate in meetings and a press briefing at the statehouse on April 24

PREVIOUS SPREAD: MAGNUM PHOTOS

has funneled some supplies to the states, Trump has disavowed responsibility for testing and equipment shortfalls and passed the buck to the governors. The result has been a kind of federalist free-for-all, with state leaders pitted against one another in bidding wars for scarce equipment, and against the President, whose very office was created to avoid such anarchy.

Now the governors face perhaps their hardest decision: how and when to ease COVID-19 restrictions and start to reopen their states. The question of how to balance public health and economic activity has transcended partisanship: Democrat Jay Inslee of Washington and Republican Mike DeWine of Ohio are among those who have drawn praise for their efforts to curb the spread of the virus. Hogan, a popular moderate who didn't vote for Trump in 2016 and doesn't plan to in November, has drawn acclaim for his similarly aggressive tack. One recent poll found 84% of Marylanders approved of his handling of the crisis. The GOP veteran, who was reelected by a healthy margin in 2018, has emerged as a unifying figure in his role as head of the NGA.

It's not what Hogan envisioned for his chairmanship, a largely ceremonial position that he'd planned to use to push for national infrastructure when he took it last July. In early February, when the governors converged on Washington for their semiannual meeting, Trump was still casting the virus as a nonissue that would go away on its own. Hogan arranged for the group to be briefed by experts including Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, and Dr. Robert Redfield, the head of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The stark warning the experts delivered was so at odds with the public discussion that it made many of the governors sit up in their seats and return home with a sense of urgency. If the U.S. muddles through the current crisis, it will be because America's governors stepped up to the plate—at least in part because of Hogan. Perhaps not coincidentally, several of the governors who've come in for the most criticism for their lackadaisical handling of the pandemic—including Georgia's Brian Kemp and Florida's Ron DeSantis—are not dues-paying NGA members and weren't at the meeting.

The crisis has provided a lesson not just in the governors' varying levels of executive competence but also in the nature of political leadership itself. The virus doesn't care about the policy debates and penny-ante scandals that dominate political campaigns. In an all-consuming crisis, what people want is empathy and urgency: the steady hand, the decisive manager, the clear communicator. The kind of leader creative enough to negotiate with a foreign government 13 time zones away to procure the testing kits the federal government has failed to provide. Hogan was one of the first governors in America to declare a state of emergency and the first in the region to order public schools to close. He's overseen the addition of 6,000 new hospital beds to the state's capacity. "I want them to know that we're making decisions based on the science and the facts," Hogan says of his constituents, "but also that we care, that I empathize with what they're going through."

AT 1 P.M., Hogan settles back at the table for today's governors-only teleconference. Forty-four governors have dialed in to the call, the 16th Hogan has convened since the start of the pandemic. "My question is, for those who received the Abbott machines, we received 15, but we only received 120 cartridges and/or kits we could actually test with," says Andy Beshear, the governor of Kentucky. "Is anybody getting any more of these kits from the federal government?"

The rapid-testing device made by Abbott Laboratories, a sleek white gizmo the size of a bread box, was touted by Trump in a March 29 Rose Garden press conference. The President called the machine, which can produce a result in as little as five minutes, "a whole new ballgame." The truth fell far short of that boast.

"Andy, this is Andrew," New York's Governor Cuomo replies. "My experience is, these companies will sell the machines, which are several million dollars each, but then they don't deliver the test kits and the reagents. And then they say the federal government is doing the allocation of the test kits." (In a statement, Abbott said the allotment to states was "only a fraction" of its tests.)

Two more governors say they've faced some of the same difficulties, while another says she can't even figure out whom in Washington to call about tests. (Hogan gives her a name.) Several of the governors complain that the Administration seems less interested in helping than in finding ways to shift blame to the states.

These calls have been a lifeline for the governors, their principal source of unfiltered information and advice from their colleagues in the trenches of the battle against the virus. "The NGA's never been as important as it is now, probably in decades, if not ever," Cuomo says. The governors have been thrust into a no-win situation by the federal government, he says, making it all the more important that they stick together.

As the governors speak, Congress and the White House have just struck a deal to spend $484 billion to replenish a small-business aid fund. But money for state and local governments got negotiated away, shelved for the next bill. It's a major problem for the governors, whose tax revenues have taken a massive hit from the crisis. Just 90 days of state-ordered sheltering in place is projected to blow an estimated $3 billion hole in Maryland's $50 billion annual budget. The very governments that are providing vital services to keep their locked-down states afloat have been thanked for their efforts with a pile of bills they can't pay. And while Trump has repeatedly expressed support for sending aid to the states, Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell threw cold water on the idea, saying states should explore bankruptcy instead.

That's not the only burden the states face. The recent congressional aid package that expanded unemployment benefits mandated that they be extended to independent contractors and the self-employed. But the package gave the states, which administer unemployment insurance, no mechanism to distribute these benefits. The phone lines of Maryland's unemployment office were jammed with tens of thousands of calls, Hogan says. The governors on the call exchange tips on creating websites to deal with the problem.

HOGAN CROUCHES IMPATIENTLY over the conference-call starfish, rifling through his stack of papers. He's short and round, with a pronounced Maryland accent. Once blessed with a big white swoosh of Republican-real-estate-developer hair, he's worn it close-shaved since recovering from lymphoma in 2015. As with most authentic-seeming politicians, there's more than a little ambition behind Hogan's regular-guy persona. His father was a Republican Congressman—the first Republican member of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee to call for President Richard Nixon's impeachment—and a young Hogan hoped to follow him into politics. But after two failed runs for Congress, he went into business instead, pausing to serve a stint as appointments secretary to Governor Robert Ehrlich from 2003 to 2007.

When Hogan sought the governorship in 2014, he cast himself as a fiscally focused uniter who would cut taxes and forswear social issues. But Maryland was trending so blue that the forecaster Nate Silver gave Hogan a less than 10% chance of victory. "This is a guy nobody thought had a chance to win, but I could just tell he had real skills," says Hogan's friend Chris Christie, the former New Jersey governor.

Hogan was tested early. Three months after he was sworn in, riots broke out in Baltimore over the death in police custody of 25-year-old Freddie Gray. Hogan went to Baltimore and set up a command post, working from the city and walking the streets every day. Keiffer Mitchell, a Democratic former Baltimore city councilman who now serves in Hogan's cabinet, recalls advising Hogan against approaching a group of gang members with neck tattoos. But the governor ignored him and won them over, Mitchell says, promising to attend to priorities like rec centers if they'd help him keep the city safe.

Just two months after the protests, Hogan was diagnosed with Stage III non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. Rather than seclude himself during his treatment, he chronicled the illness on Facebook, posting pictures of himself hooked up to chemotherapy tubes or working from the hospital. Letters and comments poured in from Marylanders who'd been through or watched a loved one go through a similar ordeal.

The current crisis has showcased Hogan's resourcefulness. Faced with the shortage of testing kits that has bedeviled many states, Hogan noticed that his wife Yumi's native South Korea had a surplus. The country had a policy of not selling to states. But over three weeks of intensive negotiations in her native language, Yumi Hogan—an abstract painter who is thought to be America's first Korean-American first lady—helped broker a deal to purchase 500,000 tests and fly them to Maryland on idled Korean Air passenger planes. The talks were conducted in secrecy to prevent the federal government from intercepting and commandeering the shipment, as it has done with other supplies acquired by states. The Food and Drug Administration cleared the tests while the plane was in the air.

Hogan's testing coup angered Trump. "He didn't understand too much about what was going on," Trump said of Hogan on April 20. Hogan says Washington followed up by sending him a list of

TRUTH NOT FEAR

laboratories in his state, none of which had coronavirus tests on hand. Most were federal government labs the state couldn't even access. Hence the appeal to Pence.

Hogan's reputation for pragmatism and moderation has won him approval scores in the 70s from Republicans, Democrats and independents alike and from both white and African-American residents. "I can't even find Democrats in my own family who disapprove of the job he's doing," says Donna Edwards, a former Democratic Congresswoman from Maryland's D.C. suburbs. In 2016, Hogan boycotted the Republican National Convention and wrote in his father's name on his presidential ballot. "That was the kind of Republican that I wanted to vote for," Hogan tells me. Last year, a group of anti-Trump Republicans tried to persuade Hogan to run for President. Hogan, as he puts it, "didn't throw them out of my office," but eventually decided Trump's popularity with the Republican base made him unbeatable in a primary.

Hogan's father died in 2017. The governor hasn't decided whom to vote for this November. He doesn't rule out voting Democratic. As for Trump, Hogan says, "he hasn't done anything to make me change my mind."

WHEN I ASK HOGAN what he misses most about life before the pandemic, he gets wistful. "I'm a people person," he says. "Usually I'd be at events all day and all night." One of the highlights of Hogan's year is opening day of the baseball season in the spring, when he spends hours walking around Oriole Park at Camden Yards, greeting people, shaking thousands of hands and taking hundreds of selfies. This year, of course, there was no opening day. "That's what I miss about normal life," he says. "I miss people."

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A protester, part of a caravan of cars that descended on the Maryland statehouse in Annapolis on April 18, opposing coronavirus-related restrictions

On April 24, Hogan announced a phased reopening plan based on a series of testing and tracing benchmarks. The point is to keep people safe, he tells me, but also to give them hope: they have to know there's a light at the end of this tunnel. That the leaders they've elected have a plan, even if it's far from clear when they'll be able to put it into effect.

The credibility Hogan's built with his constituents will be critical to the reopening effort. It's a quality that's been in short supply in the White House, where a few hours after Hogan speaks, Trump will force Redfield to "correct" an article that quoted him accurately, and where the next day the President will muse about injecting disinfectant into people's bodies. After receiving hundreds of calls to its hotline, Maryland's emergency-management agency is forced to issue a warning that "under no circumstances should any disinfectant product be administered into the body through injection, ingestion or any other route."

For the most part, Maryland's residents have followed Hogan's lead. A small protest erupted in Annapolis on April 18, demanding an end to the governor's stay-at-home order. Hogan wasn't there to see it because he was at the airport receiving the South Korean test kits. "I didn't think it was helpful for the President to be encouraging people to go out and protest," he says. Trump's tweets urging people to "liberate" certain states, he notes, came the day after the President's own Administration issued guidelines calling for the stay-at-home orders to be kept in place for now.

To the protesters, however, Hogan offers not a rebuke but sympathy. "I get the frustration," he says. "I want it to be over, you know? I'm tired of it also." As the pandemic response moves into its next phase, it will be up to Hogan and the other governors to lead the way. ☐

THE RIGHT WAY OUT

How scientists and public-health experts would draw up the plan

BY ALICE PARK

THERE IS BOTH PROMISE AND PERIL IN BEING a pioneer, and the people of Hokkaido have learned both lessons well over the past few months. After infections of COVID-19 on the Japanese island exploded following its annual winter festival this year, officials in February declared a state of emergency to control the disease. Soon after, new daily cases plummeted, and Hokkaido's quick action was heralded as a beacon for the rest of Japan to follow.

But it wasn't just infections that dropped; over the next month, agriculture and tourism business also dried up, and Hokkaido's governor decided to ease social restrictions. However, compliance with limits on social interaction after weeks of sequestering was harder this time around. Within a month, Hokkaido's new COVID-19 infections jumped by 80%, and the governor had to reinstate lockdown policies.

There are similar stories from Singapore, Hong Kong and Germany, and all serve as sobering lessons for the decisionmakers in the U.S. who are under increasing pressure to reopen the country to reactivate its stalled economy. The tension is built into the pandemic: while public-health metrics all point toward extended social isolation and a more gradual reopening of society, the decisions are made by politicians. Already, some state governors are allowing businesses such as nail salons, barbershops and gyms to reopen to prevent bankruptcies and economic ruin.

How to proceed? The U.S. urgently needs to restart, but no economy can function if an infectious disease like COVID-19 continues to sicken the workforce and keep customers to a trickle. More than a million Americans have had the disease, but it is not yet known whether recovering can provide lasting, or any, immunity. Which means much of the country's nearly 330 million people remain at risk for infection with SARS-CoV-2, the virus that causes the illness, in a too-sudden return to normal. "Even in the hardest-hit places [in the U.S.], fewer than 1 in 10 people have been infected. So not only could COVID-19 come roaring back, but it could get five times or close to 10 times worse than it is now," says Dr. Tom Frieden, president and CEO of Resolve to Save Lives and former director of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). "The only way forward is to suppress cases and clusters of cases rapidly."

Under President Trump's guidelines for Opening Up America Again, states would move through three phases of gradually loosening social restrictions. The threshold for entering each stage toward normality is declines in the number of new COVID-19 cases in the previous 14 days. Gyms, movie theaters and sports stadiums would be the first to reopen, although people would have to remain 6 ft. from one another and avoid intimate gatherings of more than 10. Next, schools and bars could reopen with limitations, and finally, if cases continued to decline, most people could return to work. Health experts warn, however, that the return to normality can't be only a straight progression—if cases start to inch upward, then social distancing and shelter-in-place directives will have to be renewed.

The only way to calibrate those decisions is to know where the new infections are. When it comes to conquering an infectious disease, the adage "know your enemy" is remarkably apt. Or, even more important, know where your enemy is. Tracking an invisible virus is the key to controlling it, and the quickest and most reliable strategy for that is to build a robust system to test anyone who might be infected. For the U.S. to reopen its economy, "We're going to have to find those people who are infected, and not just wait for them to come to us," says Barry Bloom, a professor at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. "The bottom line is, it's testing, testing, testing—so we know where the epidemic is before we can relax any stringencies in a stepwise fashion."

Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases and a member of the White House Coronavirus Task Force, tells TIME, "We must have in place the capability that when we do start to see cases come back—and I'll guarantee you that they will—to identify by testing, [and then] isolate and contact-trace to get people out of circulation who are infected."

It may take tens of millions of tests per week to do that, and the problem is the U.S.'s testing capacity may not be ready yet. "There is absolutely no way on earth, on this planet or any other planet, that we can do 20 million tests a day, or even 5 million tests a day," says Admiral Brett Giroir, the assistant secretary for health who is overseeing the government's testing response.

1. TESTING

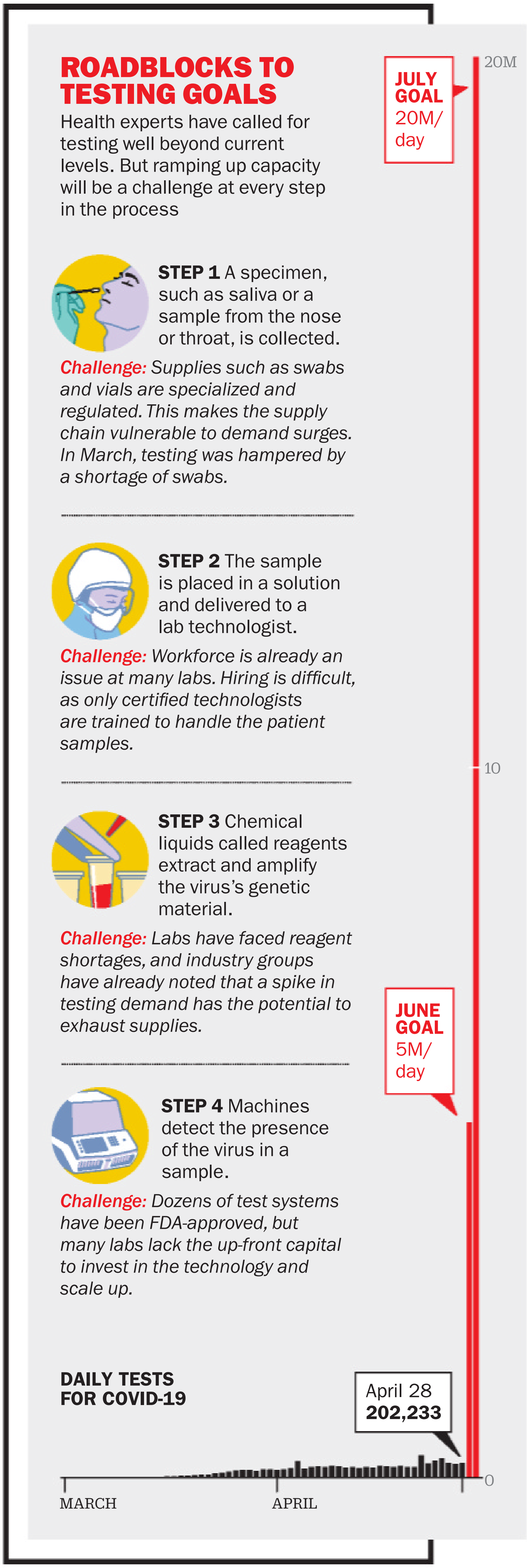
Widespread testing can yank away the curtain that hides SARS-CoV-2, revealing where there are clusters of people who are infected by the virus but not showing symptoms, and thus aren't aware they might be spreading it to others. That, in turn, will lead to more targeted efforts to isolate anyone who is infectious. And, if all the people who came in contact with an infected person were also tested, it would help local health authorities trace how the virus is moving through a community. It's basic, boots-on-the-ground disease control.

The U.S., however, stumbled on testing in the early days of the pandemic, and those failures led to a dramatic surge in cases that climbed more quickly than in other countries. Thanks to a combination of contamination issues that delayed the original test from the CDC, and regulatory requirements that prevented commercial and academic labs from immediately developing their own assays, "It's still the case that testing isn't nearly as readily available as it needs to be," says Frieden. As of this writing, just over 1 million tests for COVID-19 are performed in the U.S. each week, which is woefully inadequate, Fauci says.

Public-health experts estimate that the current U.S. testing rate has to triple simply to include all the people who are considered highest priority for testing, including health care workers and nursing-home residents. To fold in all of those who should be tested if gyms and restaurants reopen, the number of daily tests has to increase by tens of millions. Ideally, anyone with symptoms like a cough, fever or shortness of breath should be tested, as should anyone who is sick and living in a group facility like a dormitory, along with any patient admitted to a hospital for any reason. Family members and others with close contact to someone who tests positive should also be tested.

Boosting testing volume is about not just manufacturing more tests but also ensuring that they're relatively easy to take. So at-home testing kits that are just becoming available—which still require a doctor's prescription but won't require people to go to a doctor's office or health facility to provide a sample—will become more critical as states gradually reopen. Several companies are also offering COVID-19 tests, approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), that don't require doctors or patients to sample from deep in the back of the nose and throat, but instead swab the inside of the nostrils or provide a small amount of saliva, making it easier even for non–health professionals to provide samples.

While testing capacity in the U.S. is gaining ground, the road ahead remains long. The health system has never had to manage testing at the scale



ROADBLOCKS TO TESTING GOALS

Health experts have called for testing well beyond current levels. But ramping up capacity will be a challenge at every step in the process

STEP 1 A specimen, such as saliva or a sample from the nose or throat, is collected.

Challenge: Supplies such as swabs and vials are specialized and regulated. This makes the supply chain vulnerable to demand surges. In March, testing was hampered by a shortage of swabs.

STEP 2 The sample is placed in a solution and delivered to a lab technologist.

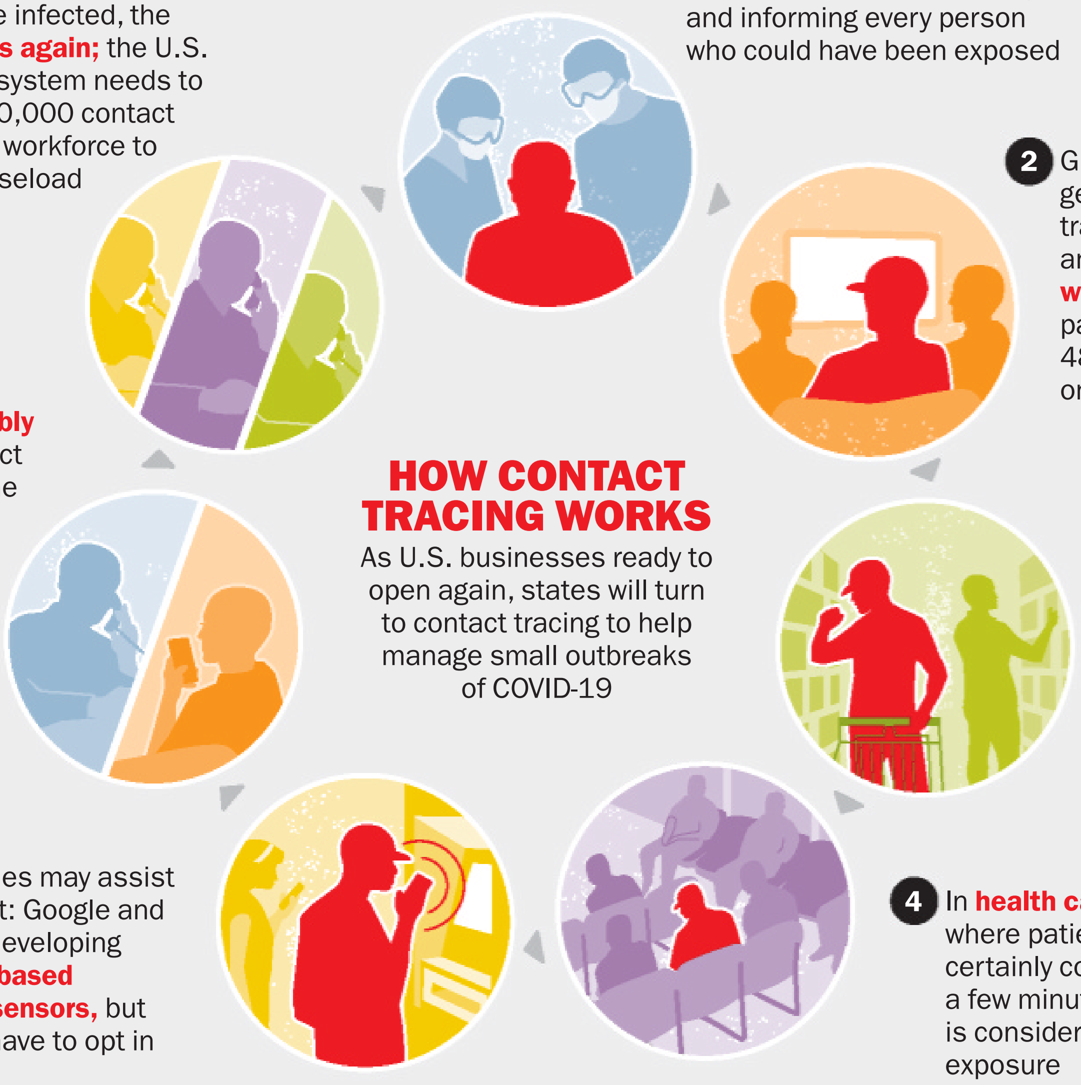
Challenge: Workforce is already an issue at many labs. Hiring is difficult, as only certified technologists are trained to handle the patient samples.

STEP 3 Chemical liquids called reagents extract and amplify the virus's genetic material.

Challenge: Labs have faced reagent shortages, and industry groups have already noted that a spike in testing demand has the potential to exhaust supplies.

STEP 4 Machines detect the presence of the virus in a sample.

Challenge: Dozens of test systems have been FDA-approved, but many labs lack the up-front capital to invest in the technology and scale up.



HOW CONTACT TRACING WORKS

As U.S. businesses ready to open again, states will turn to contact tracing to help manage small outbreaks of COVID-19

1 Once a **patient tests positive,** public-health workers begin the sleuthlike task of identifying and informing every person who could have been exposed

2 Guidelines vary but generally instruct tracers to identify any person who was **within 6 ft.** of the patient, starting 48 hours before the onset of symptoms

3 Tracers also **note risk factors** such as whether the patient was coughing or wearing a mask, and exposure time—as little as 10 minutes per some guidelines

4 In **health care settings,** where patients are more certainly contagious, just a few minutes of contact is considered prolonged exposure

5 Smartphones may assist in the effort: Google and Apple are developing **Bluetooth-based proximity sensors,** but users will have to opt in

6 Tracers **contact each of the possibly exposed** to instruct them to quarantine for 14 days after the exposure and to self-monitor for symptoms

7 If contacts are infected, the **process starts again;** the U.S. public-health system needs to add about 100,000 contact tracers to the workforce to handle the caseload

needed to control this pandemic, and doing so may require equally unprecedented solutions. Anticipating that the gap between testing need and testing capacity will only yawn wider as states reopen, the Rockefeller Foundation, for example, has proposed a coordinated regional command system for testing that would track and redirect supplies to where they are needed. The foundation's action plan, backed by a $15 million initial investment, also calls for engaging hundreds, even thousands, of smaller labs that currently don't perform tests for the public. So far, leaders from California and five U.S. cities are working to implement the plan and increase access to testing. (The foundation sponsored a recent TIME 100 Talk.)

2. TRACKING

Once testing at scale is in place, local trends should dictate when and how a particular region might begin to emerge from self-isolation. Loosening of social-distancing policies won't happen universally across the nation, since the burden of disease is vastly different from New York to Nevada. Each region—whether defined as a community, a state or a group of states—will have to make customized decisions about releasing its residents in phases based on its specific disease trajectory as well as its population density, among other factors.

There are, however, some universal benchmarks. Bloom and others believe new daily cases, identified by wide-scale testing, would have to fall consistently in a given region for at least two weeks before leaders can start discussing reopening businesses and schools. At that point, health experts would investigate where the new cases are. If they're confined to local and sporadic clusters, that's a sign that the virus's circle of transmission is limited and potentially shrinking.

Such scenarios would mean not that the virus is necessarily going away, but that the local health system is in a decent position to manage the load of people who get infected. "We are not just staying home in the magical belief that the virus is going to go away," says Frieden. "We are staying home so we can strengthen the health care and public-health systems." The idea isn't to eradicate coronavirus completely—at least not yet—but to bring its spread to manageable levels. As flare-ups occur, they can be doused with another critical contagion-fighting public-health technique:

contact tracing. It doesn't help to know who is infected if you're not also investigating who else that person might have infected. In a study conducted in Shenzhen, China, researchers found that tracing contacts of people who tested positive helped reduce the time it took to isolate those who were infectious by nearly half.

This is the foundation of infectious-disease containment, but that doesn't mean it's easy. Google and Apple are collaborating on a digital solution to contact-trace at scale using smartphone and search data, but concerns about privacy remain. In New York, Governor Andrew Cuomo has formed a partnership with Bloomberg Philanthropies, the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and the nonprofit Vital Strategies to build a first-of-its-kind training program to teach and certify contact tracers. The program will rely on call centers, digital technology and historical best practices to identify the contacts of people who are infected, track their whereabouts and the contacts of those contacts—and then educate those who need to self-isolate about how best to do that to protect the public's health.

3. IMMUNIZING

Testing, isolation and contact tracing, however, are all essentially a backup plan for fighting an infectious virus like SARS-CoV-2. The only way to ensure that the virus won't burn through a global population again is to build a better defense. And the most impenetrable fortress against a virus is immunity, gained—at the individual level—either by becoming infected and recovering or by getting vaccinated. "It doesn't matter how much virus is out there, if people aren't susceptible to getting it, then the virus will go away," says Lisa Lee, associate vice president for research and innovation at Virginia Tech. Smallpox, for example, was eradicated thanks to immunization.

The goal is herd immunity: when nearly every person around the world develops these protections, the "herd" is able to protect the few, such as newborns, who aren't protected or cannot be vaccinated. At this point, it is unclear if the human body naturally develops any after recovering from COVID-19. So as researchers work to figure that out, they are also racing to develop a vaccine. But although there are a variety of vaccine candidates in development and testing, it will likely take at least 12 months before the first people can be inoculated against SARS-CoV-2.

Without widespread immunity, public-health officials can only keep a close watch on new cases as they pop up, and suppress them so they don't morph into widespread outbreaks. Which means that until the population at large is protected, some amount of social distancing will become a routine part of our lives. Even if a region shows all the right numbers—declining curves of new COVID-19 cases, fewer deaths and more hospital discharges than admissions—that doesn't mean restaurants, sports arenas, shopping centers and workplaces should go back to the status quo. "Locking down isn't just to lock down," says Fauci. "It's to give you time so that when you open up again, you can come out swinging … when the virus rears its head, you have the capability to identify, isolate and contact-trace and snuff it down before [cases turn into] outbreaks."

4. THE NEW NORMAL

Especially in hard-hit, densely populated areas like New York City, at minimum, everyone might need to wear face masks in public to prevent the spread of virus-containing respiratory particles; public-transit riders may not be sitting shoulder to shoulder; diners at restaurants might need to be seated 6 ft. apart; and we might significantly cut back on physical contact. "This may turn out to be the death of the handshake," says Dr. Hilary Babcock, an infectious-disease specialist at Washington University School of Medicine.

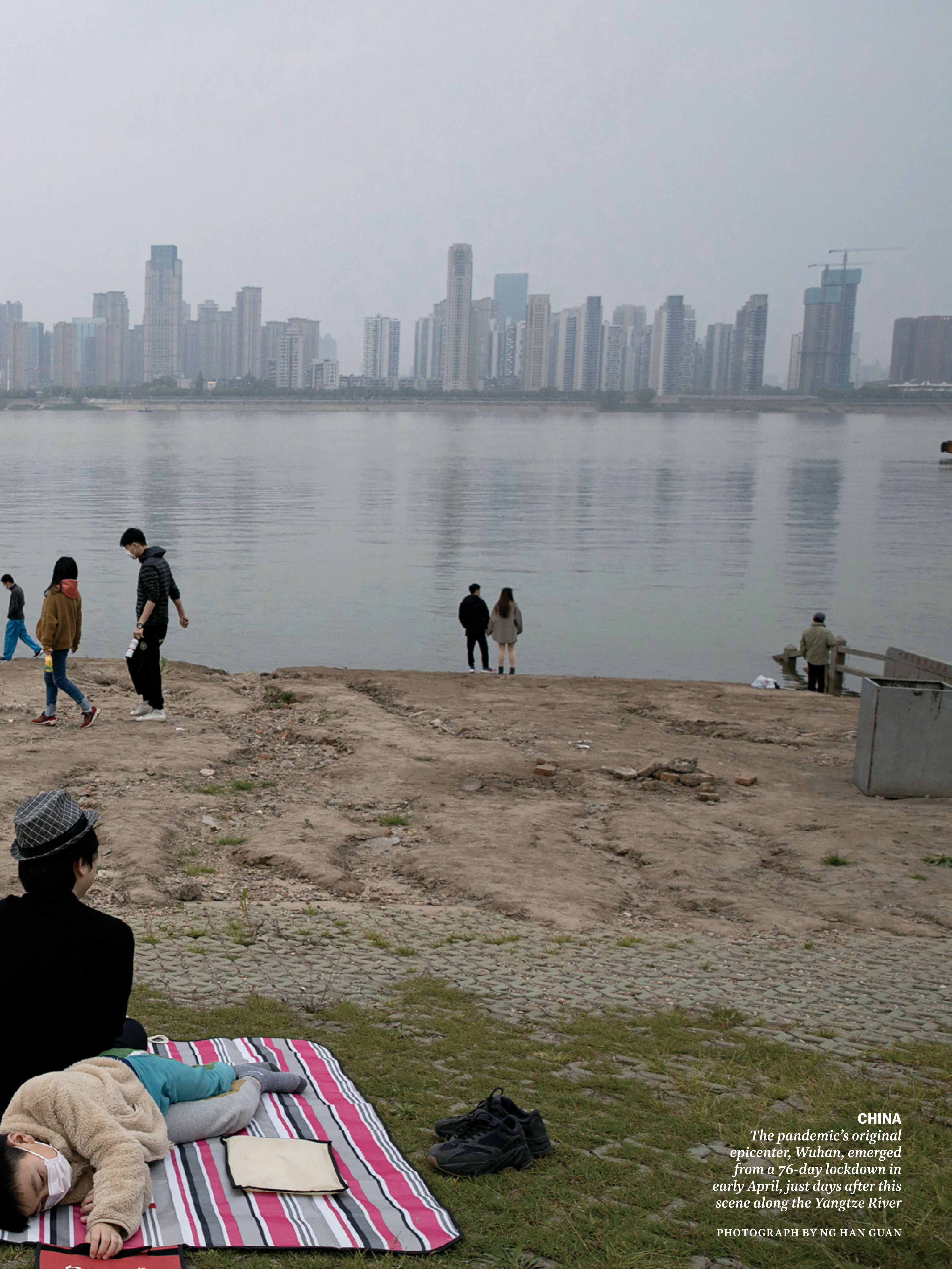
Accepting these changes to daily life is accepting the reality that emerging from this pandemic won't be like flipping a switch. "This is a public-health emergency, and only public health is going to get us out of this," says Frieden. "The economy, and society, depend on public health getting this right." And that means not just testing and identifying people who are infected, along with their contacts, but rethinking how self-isolation fits into broader policy decisions. The massive quarantine of these past few months was unprecedented, but more limited isolation, on a case-by-case or family-by-family basis, may become the norm for at least a while. And public-health officials may have to work with local community leaders to accommodate more formal, structured ways to self-isolate in order to effectively balance the public good of such measures with the rights and dignity of individuals. For example, Frieden says, "we should be offering voluntary isolation for every person infected," in the form of designated hotels or living quarters to support people who cannot stay in their current homes without putting others at risk.

These, of course, won't be the only new ubiquities in a post-COVID-19 world. Microbial threats like coronaviruses will inevitably move from the bottom to the top of public-health priority lists, and the dangers of infectious diseases will loom larger in our collective conscious. They will have to, if we have any hope of avoiding further drastic lockdowns and forever changing the way we interact with each other. —*With reporting by* W.J. HENNIGAN/WASHINGTON *and* ABIGAIL LEONARD/TOKYO □

TURNING THE CORNER

Lessons from Asia and the Pacific on how to (and how not to) reopen

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL/SHANGHAI



CHINA
The pandemic's original epicenter, Wuhan, emerged from a 76-day lockdown in early April, just days after this scene along the Yangtze River

PHOTOGRAPH BY NG HAN GUAN

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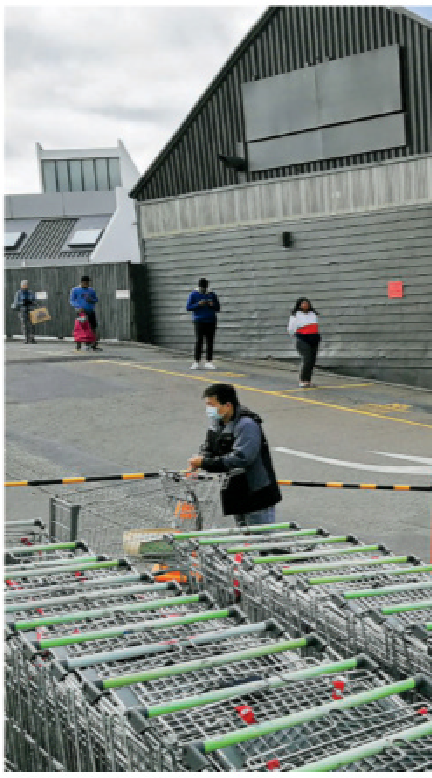


IT’S EARLY MORNING ON SHANGHAI’S WEST Bund, and the lawns of the waterfront area are filled with picnickers savoring the annual cherry-blossom bloom. Parents push strollers through carpets of flowers while students sprawled on the grass share bottles of chilled cava. After three months of strict stay-at-home orders because of the COVID-19 pandemic, residents of China’s biggest city have re-emerged blinking into the light. “It’s crazy; I’ve never seen it so busy here,” says Sally Zhou, as she queues for coffee with her French bulldog. “People are desperate to get outside and enjoy themselves.”

Even as COVID-19 spreads across the world, nowhere has replicated the scale and intensity of China’s unprecedented lockdown. The epicenter of the outbreak, Wuhan, was sealed off and other cities placed under quarantine. The world’s No. 2 economy froze completely. Those sacrifices have now enabled China to slow new cases to a trickle. Wuhan discharged the last of its hospitalized coronavirus patients on April 27, and although many are skeptical of the government’s reported case numbers, authorities clearly feel confident enough to allow certain schools and businesses across China to reopen. Sales at major online retailers grew around 10% year-on-year in March, according to China’s Commerce Ministry, partly in response to a flurry of cut-price deals designed to rekindle demand. On April 22, President Xi Jinping emphasized the imperative to restart China’s stalled economy. “Great advances in history have come after great catastrophes,” he said.

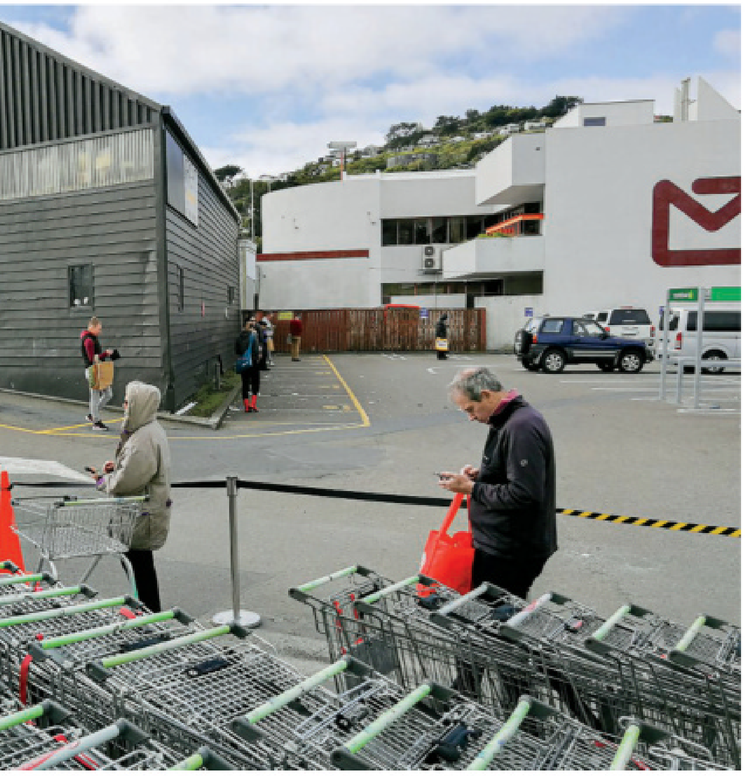
For much of the world, the catastrophe is still ongoing—at least 3 million cases and more than 200,000 deaths in more than 200 countries and territories as of late April. In February, the world marveled as China threw up temporary hospitals in Wuhan; now, similar facilities sit in London’s largest convention center and in New York City’s Central Park. Medical masks, long de rigueur in Asia to guard against infection, are now worn by most venturing outside in much of the Western world. The new hot spots of the virus have armed themselves with defenses pioneered in Asia: the potent trident of social distancing, widespread testing and protecting frontline medical workers.

The coronavirus is far from defeated, but in many places, the initial surge in cases has abated and focus has turned to the fate of the global economy. The IMF estimates global GDP will shrink 3% this year and that contraction may continue into 2021, which could lead to the deepest dive since the Great Depression. The U.S. economy shrank 4.8% in the first quarter, and J.P. Morgan predicts a 40% contraction in the second. The number of Americans claiming unemployment is now 22 million.

With statistics like these, some feel as if the cure may hurt more than the disease. Protests have broken out in the U.S. against lockdown measures, which are already being rolled back in states including Georgia, Montana and Tennessee. But health officials warn that easing measures too quickly risks a W-shaped recovery, where a resurgence of cases causes a second economic decline soon after the first.

There’s no playbook for successfully lifting lockdown. But several East Asian countries are further ahead in the game. How they are faring offers invaluable lessons in the effort to balance public health and economic recovery.

IT WAS ABOUT 4 P.M. on March 7 when Park Hong-cheol, 42, received a call from his local health authority in South Korea informing him that a colleague in his office had tested positive for COVID-19. He quickly donned a surgical mask and drove to Sejong City’s Public Health Center. After he filled out



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registration forms, hazmat-suited staff performed a COVID-19 test through a crack in his car window. Afterward, officials sprayed disinfectant on his car's exterior and Park drove straight home, obeying strict instructions to stay indoors and avoid human contact. "By the time I awoke the next morning, I had a text message saying that I'd tested negative," he tells TIME.

At the start of the coronavirus outbreak, South Korea had been caught off guard; a slow initial rate of infection quickly metastasized in mid-February. But unlike in the U.S., which confirmed its first COVID-19 case one day after South Korea, a robust public health response kept reported cases under 11,000. Compared with the U.S., South Korea on a per capita basis tested three times as many citizens.

The ability to test and trace every infection and their contacts is one of six conditions the WHO says should be met before any society can reopen, and South Korea shows you don't have to be an autocratic system like China's to introduce these kinds of expansive measures. By April 24, more than 589,000 Koreans had been tested in the same way as Park Hong-cheol, in large part at drive-through and walk-through facilities that delivered quick results. The government provided free smartphone apps that relayed emergency SMS alerts about spikes in infections in neighborhoods, and updated national and local government websites that tracked cases. Infections with only mild symptoms were treated at temporary facilities to allow hospitals to concentrate on the most acute cases. As a result, South Korea successfully flattened the curve in 20 days without extreme draconian restrictions on freedom or movement. "The faster we find the contacts, the better we are able to stem further spread of the virus," South Korean Health and Welfare Minister Park Neung-hoo tells TIME. Still, he adds, "finding a midpoint between economic activities and containing an epidemic outbreak is a delicate balancing act."

Swift, decisive action has no doubt lessened the economic hit South Korea will have to bear (although its economy still shrank 1.4% in the first quarter of the year). Park, the Health Minister, says test results that arrive in minutes, not days, are "critical" to effective contact tracing. Then anonymized GPS data from an infected person's cell phone can be used to automatically alert via SMS those people who had recently been in the same vicinity to get tested themselves. Other methods use interviews, security cameras and credit-card data to trace infected people. Hong Kong and Taiwan have enjoyed similar success.

The U.S. is poorly positioned to follow. For one, problems in the supply and capacity of testing kits mean it typically takes several days for results—and that delay exponentially increases the potential for infected people to expose others. For another, there are only around 2,200 professional contact tracers in the U.S., and health experts say 100,000 more are desperately needed. In China, around 9,000 contact tracers were employed in Wuhan alone.

There are also privacy issues; Americans generally don't want their telecom companies to share their GPS data with government agencies, even if rendered anonymous and used to fight an extraordinary health crisis. Apple and Google are currently collaborating on an app that will use geodata to facilitate contact tracing—but, they insist, on a voluntarily opt-in, self-reporting basis.

And the app may not be ready for weeks, "It is very, very difficult to get people to opt into anything," says Kai-Fu Lee, a venture capitalist; former Google, Microsoft and Apple executive; and author of *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order.* "It begs the question of which is more

1. SOUTH KOREA'S *response to coronavirus centered on mass, rapid-results public testing, like this scene outside Seoul's Yangji hospital on March 17, and extensive contact tracing*

2. NEW ZEALAND *moved for an early lockdown, which proved crucial, as did additional social-distancing measures, like this queue at a Wellington supermarket on April 11*

3. SINGAPORE'S *initial response left behind its more than 1 million migrant workers, many of whom live in cramped housing, like the Punggol S11 dormitory, seen on April 18*

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP; THESE PAGES: ED JONES—AFP/GETTY IMAGES, GUO LEI—XINHUA/GETTY IMAGES, ORE HUIYING—GETTY IMAGES

important: personal privacy or, during national pandemic emergencies, to use data in a restricted, anonymized way for public health."

The government of Taiwan made its choice early. The island of 23 million realized it was extremely vulnerable given its position just 80 miles off mainland China, where 850,000 of its citizens reside and another 400,000 work. But in addition to early screening and detection, emergency powers also enabled smartphone location tracking to form "electronic fences" around people under quarantine, imposing steep fines if they leave home. Thanks to these precautionary measures, Taiwan has had fewer than 500 cases to date.

YET EVEN THE MOST efficiently staged recoveries can prove fragile. Singapore, an affluent city-state of 5.6 million, was initially commended by the WHO for its widespread testing and comprehensive tracing of close contacts. Singapore requisitioned 7,500 hotel rooms to quarantine new arrivals, including some at the storied colonial-era Raffles Hotel. Sure, room-service menus were off-limits—simple meals on trays were provided instead—but the state still picked up the tab. On March 23, the island permitted schools to reopen, confident the virus was under control.

It turned out, however, that authorities had paid little attention to Singapore's million or so low-paid migrant workers, and all the while COVID-19 was flourishing in their cramped dormitories—the largest of which house up to 25,000 workers. Over a week in April, case numbers rocketed by more than 250% to over 10,000—the highest tally in Southeast Asia. Ripon Chowdhury, 31, a shipyard worker from Bangladesh who has lived in Singapore for 10 years, was sharing a room with 15 others when the virus tore through his community. "It's just too crowded," he says. "If one person gets it, then all of us will, because we're sharing a toilet, shower and kitchen."

Singapore shows that any response to this indiscriminate virus must be inclusive. Americans on low incomes who cannot work from home and lack comprehensive health insurance have proven particularly vulnerable, as have elderly people trapped in care homes. But the virus cannot be banished from society by prioritizing the young and affluent. In Singapore, like the U.S., rich and poor take the same public transportation, use the same ride-sharing apps, prowl the same malls. "The virus doesn't respect community barriers," says Christine Pelly, an executive committee member of Singapore's Transient Workers Count Too, a nongovernmental organization. "We benefit a lot from [low-wage workers]. We should look after their well-being more closely."

Singapore is not the only Asian nation to have suffered a "second wave." Japan was one of the first nations affected, not least because of the stricken *Diamond Princess* cruise liner docked south of Tokyo. But early on, it was actually Japan's northern island of Hokkaido that was worst hit. Home to 4% of the population, the province roughly the size of Maine had a third of Japan's 206 cases at the end of February, mainly owing to Chinese visitors to the Sapporo Snow Festival. A state of emergency was declared Feb. 28, with schools shut and residents ordered to stay at home.

But as cases mushroomed in urban areas like Tokyo and dropped in Hokkaido, the island's authorities grew concerned by the economic toll. Kazushi Monji, the mayor of the town of Kutchan, some 50 miles from Sapporo, tells TIME the shutdown had a "serious impact" upon the local economy with restaurants empty, hotel reservations canceled and practically no new bookings. On March 19, Hokkaido lifted its state of emergency after just three weeks.

"People in Hokkaido became so happy, relaxed and relieved—walking around, going for drinks, attending business meetings," says Dr. Kiyoshi Nagase, president of the Hokkaido Medical Association who helped coordinate the local COVID-19 response. Quickly, the situation spiraled with a flurry of new infections. On April 12, a second state of emergency was imposed. "Now I regret it," says Nagase. "We should not have lifted the first [order]."

For chef Koji Yorozuya, whose parents started the Wafuchubo Mikami Izakaya in Otaru, northern Hokkaido, 20 years ago, the lockdown has become the "most severe crisis in the history of our restaurant." Normally, all 40 seats would be occupied with customers enjoying warm sake alongside dishes of sashimi, tempura and grilled seafood skewers. But health regulations have forced him to shut up shop, and he now serves only taxi deliveries. "Honestly, I want the restrictions lifted as soon as possible because I am afraid of losing my restaurant," he says. "But in terms of public health, I am also scared. I don't know what the right answer is."

As Hokkaido demonstrates, a town or province that has conquered its infection rate can relapse with alarming ease. Kazuto Suzuki, vice dean of international politics at Hokkaido University, says his province's experience shows that the piecemeal opening up of U.S. states is "very dangerous ... even if you control the first wave, you can't relax." In Texas, state parks have already reopened and nonessential surgeries resumed. On April 24, Oklahoma's nail salons, spas, barbershops and pet groomers were allowed to resume work. Georgia's gyms, bowling alleys and tattoo parlors flung open their doors the same day. "I'd love everything open," Las Vegas Mayor Carolyn Goodman recently told CNN. But individual states' actions pose a serious risk to the rest of the U.S. "The whole world is on fire with coronavirus," says Michael Osterholm, the director of the Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy at the University of Minnesota and co-author of *Deadliest Enemy: Our*

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TAIWAN
Fewer than 500 cases have been confirmed on the island of 23 million, where students in a plastic-arts class seen on April 28 learned to make face shields

DAVID CHANG—EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

War Against Killer Germs. "So all 50 states are going to contribute to each other. We're only as strong as our weakest link."

THE QUESTION EVERY COUNTRY has to answer is what recovery looks like in a post-coronavirus world. New Zealand has had extraordinary success in conquering the virus, partly as a consequence of its isolation and low population density but also because it introduced strict lockdown measures and all but closed its borders. Now, daily new infections are down to single digits and it's poised to banish the virus completely.

Still, the banning of all foreign nationals is having a catastrophic effect on the country's tourism-reliant economy. Over 2019, international tourists to New Zealand spent just over $10 billion: the sector employs 8.4% of the workforce. All this has now evaporated. "The economy can survive without international tourism, but not as we know it," says Brad Olsen, senior economist at New Zealand's Infometrics consultancy firm.

Economic superpowers are no less at risk. China's economy contracted 6.8% in the first quarter of 2020. Although domestic demand is now picking up again, China's exposure to the global marketplace will mean the pain lasts for some time—and will have unpredictable repercussions. The dearth of demand for goods by Americans sequestered in their homes, for example, means Chinese factories run at reduced capacity, slashing the demand for energy, which helped crude-oil prices plummet below $0.

After the 2008 financial crisis, China invested in its recovery through infrastructure. It plowed $586 billion into government projects like highways, metro systems and airports, and poured more cement between 2011 and 2013 than the U.S. used in the entire 20th century. One result of that spending binge was soaring national debt, but it also resulted in millions of jobs in the short term and an enhanced foundation for every Chinese business to operate.

Beijing now appears reluctant to repeat that feat, but it might work for the U.S., which has so far focused on injecting liquidity into bond markets, making grants to small business and sending $1,200 checks to individuals. Analysts say the U.S. needs to spend some $4.5 trillion by 2025 to fix its creaking roads, railways and airports, plus upgrade to next-generation technology like 5G. Economists say infrastructure is an equalizer that empowers all businesses—big and small—and should be prioritized over bailing out lenders once again.

It's early, but already clear that one legacy of the coronavirus will be a changed economic landscape. Almost half a million companies in China declared bankruptcy during the first quarter of the year. How many American firms fold depends on choices made today—by officials, and by people anxious for answers. The only thing worse than closed doors is a public too terrified to walk through open ones. —*With reporting by* STEPHEN KIM/SEOUL; ABIGAIL LEONARD/TOKYO; AMY GUNIA *and* HILLARY LEUNG/HONG KONG ☐

Her Art of the Deal

NANCY PELOSI IS AT THE CENTER OF THE EFFORT TO SAVE THE U.S. ECONOMY. AGAIN

By Molly Ball

NANCY PELOSI WAS GETTING IMPATIENT. IT WAS mid-March, and the House Speaker and her staff were working around the clock to draft urgent legislation to address the coronavirus pandemic. But the White House was dragging its feet: she hadn't heard back from Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, her negotiating partner, in more than 12 hours.

Pelosi told Mnuchin the delay was unacceptable, and he got the message. The next morning, he boasted to Pelosi that his staff had been up until 4 a.m. putting the finishing touches on the Families First Coronavirus Response Act, providing funding for free testing, paid leave and expanded food stamps.

"I'm not impressed," Pelosi replied. "We do it all the time."

As the pandemic takes tens of thousands of lives and tens of millions of jobs, a Congress known for dysfunction has kicked into gear. Four massive bills with a price tag of nearly $3 trillion have sought to aid the sick, shore up the health care system, and ease the burden on workers and businesses. It's the biggest federal outlay in history, dwarfing the response to the 2008 financial crisis, and as Speaker, Pelosi is naturally at the center of it. Before the ink was dry on the latest $484 billion small-business rescue package, she was on the phone trying to make the next deal to aid state and local governments whose budgets have been ravaged by the crisis. As Representative Karen Bass, a California Democrat, told Politico recently, "Quiet as it's kept, she's the one leading the country right now."

Precisely because it required a frozen government to act, the pandemic has put Pelosi's legislative talents on urgent display. It's a fitting capstone to her historic three-decade career. Many congressional scholars consider Pelosi the most adept lawmaker of the past half-century, measuring her record of society-shaping legislation against the backdrop of the most partisan and gridlocked Congress in decades. While Republicans accuse her of obstruction, and some on the left accuse her of giving away the store, Pelosi believes she's maximized her leverage at a time when inaction is not an option.

The legislative prowess Pelosi has exhibited during the crisis was honed in years of negotiations, often with the fate of the economy hanging in the balance. As Speaker from 2007 to 2011, she was instrumental in the U.S. response to the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent recession. As minority leader from 2011 to 2017, she forged deals in the high-stakes budget battles between President Obama and congressional Republicans.

For my new biography, *Pelosi,* I spent more than

PHOTOGRAPH BY SHAWN THEW

Pelosi in the U.S. Capitol on April 23, the day the House passed a $484 billion coronavirus relief package two years researching the Speaker’s life and career. I conducted more than 100 interviews with critics and supporters, activists and operatives, current and former staff, and dozens of current and former members of Congress from across the political spectrum. It’s the first biography the Speaker has cooperated with, offering extensive access to Pelosi and her inner circle. I found her to be someone everybody has an opinion about but few really know. Republicans have spent tens of millions of dollars over the past decade caricaturing her as a “San Francisco liberal,” while Democrats who once fought for her ouster have embraced her as a Resistance queen.

The woman who ripped up Trump’s State of the Union speech and led the most partisan impeachment in history is a loyal Democrat, but deep down she’s a dealmaker—an old-school legislator whose primary focus is getting things done through negotiation and compromise. Pelosi’s lodestar is securing the votes to deliver results. “Who would have thought Congress could pass four major pieces of legislation in the span of a month with overwhelming bipartisan support?” says former Representative Donna Edwards of Maryland, a onetime Pelosi lieutenant. “You can see it both in her command of the substance and also her command of the process. She’s not a politician; she’s a lawmaker.”

Since Pelosi arrived in Congress in 1987, America has embraced and endured massive change. But no one has ever dealt with anything quite like this—a double-barreled public-health and economic crisis of unprecedented proportions. In what’s likely the twilight of Pelosi’s historic career, a lot is riding on her ability to deliver the votes once again.

THIS IS NOT the first time Nancy Pelosi has been called on to help a Republican President save the U.S. economy from collapse. On Sept. 18, 2008, Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson called Pelosi with panic in his voice. “A very serious situation is developing,” he said. The investment bank Lehman Brothers had declared the largest bankruptcy filing in U.S. history. The Federal Reserve and the Administration had done all they could, Paulson said. They needed help from Congress—fast.

The Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) would allow the Fed to buy up banks’ “toxic assets,” stabilizing their debt loads so they wouldn’t go broke. The plan would cost hundreds of billions of dollars. It was odious to both parties: Republicans hated the idea of government meddling so drastically in the economy (and spending so much taxpayer money to do it), while Democrats were loath to clean up the mess they blamed President George W. Bush for causing.

Over a week of intense negotiations, Congress and the Administration hammered out a bill. Pelosi and her GOP counterpart, John Boehner, made a deal: Boehner would come up with 100 Republican votes, and the Democrats would make up the rest—at least 118. Pelosi did her part: 140 of the 235 Democrats voted yes. But on the Republican side, just 65 of 198 were in favor, and the bill went down. The Dow’s 778-point fall was the biggest one-day loss in history at the time, wiping out $1.2 trillion in wealth.

A week later, Pelosi brought a new bill to the floor, a compromise worked out in the Senate. It passed, 263-71, with 172 Democrats and 91 Republicans in favor. She had played a pivotal role in saving the U.S. economy from catastrophe—and bailed Bush out, for the good of the country, at enormous political risk.

After Barack Obama won the election a few weeks later, the economy was still reeling, shedding hundreds of thousands of jobs every month. Obama wanted the House to put together a stimulus bill he could sign on his very first day in office. The price tag would be huge. The White House sought about $800 billion in stimulus—bigger than TARP. As a share of GDP, it would be the largest public investment in U.S. history.

Obama tried to reach out to the GOP, even though Pelosi warned he was being naive. Charlie Dent, a moderate from Pennsylvania, was among the Republicans invited to watch the Super Bowl at the White House, where his wife chatted with Michelle and his kids played with Sasha and Malia Obama. In the end, Dent voted against the bill—and blamed Pelosi. “I believe the President was absolutely sincere in looking for a bipartisan outcome,” he told *Newsweek*. “But the White House lost control of the process when the bill was outsourced to Pelosi.”

In what’s likely the twilight of Pelosi’s historic career, a lot is riding on her ability to deliver the votes once again

Every single House Republican voted against the stimulus, as did 11 Democrats. But it still passed by a healthy margin. The key to Obama’s triumph had been not his ability to reach across the aisle, but Pelosi’s skill at holding her caucus together.

Over the ensuing two years, Pelosi helped Obama pass the Affordable Care Act, providing universal access to health insurance—something Democrats had been trying and failing to achieve for the better part of a century. In the 2010 midterms, Republicans cast her as the villain, spending $70 million on ads that tied Democratic candidates to her. The chairman of the Republican National Committee embarked on a 117-city “Fire Pelosi” bus tour. It worked: in November, the GOP won 63 seats and the majority.

Pelosi stayed on as minority leader as Obama and the new Speaker, Boehner, tried to figure out a way to strike a grand bargain to balance the country’s books and restore Americans’ trust in government. When Pelosi found out about the talks, she was publicly critical of Obama’s willingness to cut entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare, totemic achievements of past Democratic administrations that had rescued millions from penury and sickness. Privately, she assured Obama that if he needed her, she would be there. But who, she wanted to know, was counting votes? Republicans, she suspected, were just going through the motions, waiting to blame it on the President when the deal fell apart. Within a couple of weeks, that was exactly what happened.

On the eve of a national default that could have shaken the market and sent the fragile economy spiraling, Congress took over the talks. The solution congressional leaders came up with wasn’t pretty: no entitlement reform, no new taxes, but the formation of a bipartisan “supercommittee” that would have 10 weeks to come up with more than a

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Pelosi, addressing the media on March 27, has been at the center of a rare burst of bipartisan legislation

trillion dollars in cuts and revenue. Failure to do so would trigger automatic across-the-board cuts to the entire federal budget. Pelosi, now at the table, secured important concessions: the trigger would hit defense spending just as hard as domestic spending, and there would be no changes to Social Security, Medicare or Medicaid. Democrats hated the deal—Representative Emanuel Cleaver, a pastor from Kansas City, Mo., called it a "sugar-coated Satan sandwich"—but the bill passed with 95 Democratic votes.

This pattern would define the remainder of the Obama presidency: a cycle of crisis, featuring marginalized Democrats, recalcitrant Republicans, a White House unwilling or unable to strategize around them, and a government that could barely keep the lights on, much less solve any of the nation's pressing problems. Another recurring feature of this depressing cycle: Pelosi, the congressional leader with the longest track record of reaching across the aisle, was routinely cast aside. When she forced her way into the room, problems generally got solved. But it didn't seem to occur to the men in charge to invite her in the next time.

PELOSI'S CURRENT EFFORTS have a political goal: as the November election nears, she wants to show that Democrats are focused on governing responsibly. It's why she's urged the party's candidates to focus on kitchen-table issues and realistic plans; it's also why she resisted impeachment for the better part of a year, then pushed for a short and simple process.

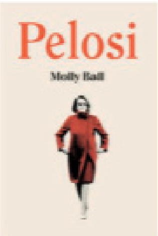
"The message has to be one that is not menacing," she told me in December, when both impeachment and the presidential primary were in full swing. "People love change, but they also are menaced by it." The liberal platform that resonates in her San Francisco district, she said, may not go over as well in swing states like Michigan that Democrats need to win the Electoral College. She cited single-payer health care as an example: "I think it's menacing to say to people, in order to get this tomorrow, we're taking away your private insurance."

Pelosi's political future isn't something she talks about—when I mentioned the idea of the "twilight" of her career, she snapped at me—but in 2018, she accepted a term-limit agreement that would force her to step down in 2022. Privately, as I reveal for the first time in the book, she told confidants at the time that she expected the current term to be her last.

The legacy she leaves will be a complex one. As the first female Speaker, she shattered the "marble ceiling," but her dreams of a woman President were dashed in 2016 and 2020, and she leaves no obvious female successor. She cites the Affordable Care Act as her greatest achievement, but Republicans have succeeded in undermining it and Democrats argue it doesn't go far enough. Despite her willingness to deal, Congress is a gridlocked mess with dismally low approval ratings.

When I asked Pelosi what she still wants to accomplish, she pointed to the problem of income inequality and the "existential threat" of climate change. Pelosi's House passed a cap-and-trade bill in 2009, but it never advanced in the Senate; save for a resolution last year in favor of the Paris Agreement, it remains the only major climate legislation ever to pass a house of Congress.

"Our work is not finished," she said, "when it comes to improving the lives of the American people."



Adapted from Pelosi, *by Molly Ball, to be published on May 5*

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I CAN'T BELIEVE HOW HAPPY MY SON IS AFTER FINALLY TAKING CONTROL OF HIS HEROIN ADDICTION

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TimeOff

ESCAPE ARTIST
Under lockdown, writer and bookseller Emma Straub's domestic fiction becomes a transporting fantasy

INSIDE

RYAN MURPHY REMAKES THE GOLDEN AGE OF HOLLYWOOD

THE TRUE STORY OF SECRET LOVERS ACROSS DECADES

A POP STAR FINDS SUCCESS IN THE QUARANTINE ERA

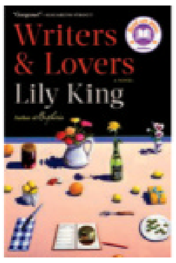
PHOTOGRAPH BY HEATHER STEN FOR TIME

PROFILE

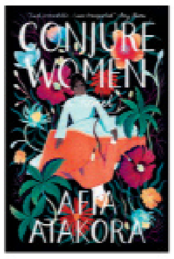
The world of Emma Straub

By Annabel Gutterman

SHOPPING LIST
STRAUB RECOMMENDS

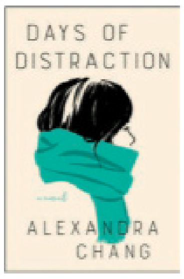


WRITERS & LOVERS
In Lily King's latest, an aspiring novelist navigates a complicated love triangle



CONJURE WOMEN
A "cursed" child threatens the freedom of a group of former slaves in Afia Atakora's debut

STAY GOLD
Tobly McSmith's YA debut follows two teens exploring gender identity and first love



DAYS OF DISTRACTION
An interracial relationship is tested by a big move in Alexandra Chang's first novel

TEN MINUTES INTO MY VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH the author Emma Straub, I'm chatting with her husband Mike. This Google Hangout is supposed to be about Straub's new novel, but it turns out Mike and I have the same hometown, and our eyes are bright with the thrill of meeting someone new whom we can talk to about something besides the pandemic. Soon after he leaves and Straub and I are back on track, talking fiction and family, she pauses. "Hold on," she says, "we have a 6-year-old who is about to come in." And so it goes.

Like many parents, Straub, 40, is homebound and juggling two jobs. While she promotes her new book, *All Adults Here,* and helps manage new challenges for the bookstore she and her husband own in Brooklyn, she is also homeschooling her two young kids, breaking up fights and spending a lot of time playing with Legos.

Though the novelist never could have anticipated it, the cozy saga of familial bonds and strife she's preparing to release on May 4 has taken on new meaning. Many of us have been forced into inescapably close quarters with the people we love most—getting reacquainted with one another's most irritating quirks and wondering how to live under the same roof without losing our minds.

These tensions have always been at the heart of Straub's fiction, particularly in her last two novels, *Modern Lovers* (2016) and *The Vacationers* (2014). Her characters' dilemmas are quiet but universal: What happens when we outgrow the friendships that shaped us into who we are? When we keep secrets from our families, whom are we really protecting? And how can memories from our pasts catapult us back into the selves we thought we'd left behind?

In *All Adults Here,* her fourth novel, Straub cements her status as a master of the domestic ensemble drama—acutely defining each voice, from a startlingly astute eighth-grader to a widowed grandmother navigating a new romance. The book traces several generations of the Strick family, whose members can't seem to escape their messy histories in their close-knit Hudson Valley town. Matriarch Astrid witnesses a tragic bus accident, which prompts her to remember an unsettling decision she made as a young mother—and to reveal her same-sex romance to her three grown kids. Her daughter Porter has a few things to share herself: she is pregnant and still pining for a man from her past. And Porter's niece Cecelia is starting over at a new middle school after getting caught up in drama at her last one.

Straub had her second child while writing the book, and she found herself consumed with new thoughts about parenthood. "All I think about is: What does it feel like to be a person with parents? What does it feel like to be a person with children?" she says. "And what does it feel like, especially, to be in the middle?"

While readers will relate to the comfortable familiarity of Straub's work, it has also taken on an unexpected air of escapism. Straub laughs at the thought: "My book started out as normal life, but now I feel like it's a fantasy novel." *All Adults Here* follows the characters as they wander the town, meeting in restaurants and enduring awkward face-to-face confrontations. "Those are all things you can't do right now," Straub says. "Going over to your high school boyfriend's house and sleeping with him—we just can't."

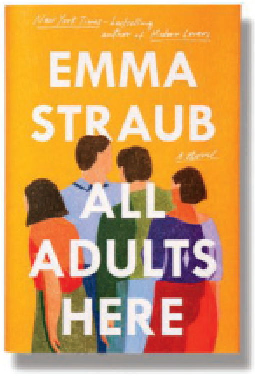
COMMUNITY LIES at the heart of *All Adults Here,* much as it does for Straub herself. The author grew up and still lives in New York City, a place that is often crowded and cramped—ideal for anonymity. But in her version of the city, she rides a constant carousel of memories: "I love seeing my ninth-grade music teacher walking down the street and just stopping to talk." It's a similar closeness the residents of the upstate town in her book enjoy. The characters walk the streets they've known for years, surrounded by the places and people of their youth. For Straub, the setting is personal.

Growing up on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, Straub was always close with her book-loving parents—her mother worked in early-childhood literacy, and her father is best-selling horror novelist Peter Straub. "I thought I had the coolest parents in town, and I still do," she says. Her parents moved and currently live a few blocks away—close enough that earlier in the day, Straub's mother dropped off a package of chocolate-covered pretzels and a toy for her grandkids, which she carefully left without coming within 6 ft. of the family. Not far from either residence is the children's school—the same one Straub attended—and the bookstore, Books Are Magic, that she and her husband opened in 2017 to fill the void left by the closure of the beloved BookCourt, where Straub once worked. Straub had no business experience, but the former owners of BookCourt helped her along.

As a mother herself, Straub is now more aware of the decisions her own parents made during her childhood. She remembers riding in the back of

Books
Are
Magic
LITTLE
GOLDEN
BOOKS

Books Are Magic, currently closed to the public, opened in 2017



the family station wagon without a seat belt. “Now, if my kids are unbuckled, I’m like climbing over the seat on the Gowanus Expressway,” she says. She wanted to explore multiple generations of a family in *All Adults Here* to unpack how the way we’re parented informs the way we eventually parent our own kids. “We all want total approval and acceptance from our parents,” she says. “That’s what all three of the adult children in the novel are striving for. Do they get it? Sometimes. If they always got it, it wouldn’t be very interesting.”

Straub also probes the gaps between appearances and what happens behind closed doors. Externally, the Stricks appear blissfully loving and supportive. “No one would look at this family and think there were any sort of issues—but of course everyone has issues,” she says. In breaking down the unconditional way a parent loves a child, and the grown child loves the parent in return, Straub illuminates just how normal it is to feel disconnected from the people we should know better than anyone else.

IN ANOTHER REALITY, Straub would be dividing her time between the store and preparations for weeks on the road for her book tour, but the coronavirus outbreak has put everything on pause. You can hear the disappointment in her voice. It would have been her first tour as a bookseller as well as an author. “Going to independent bookstores across the country is one of my only hobbies,” she says. “I’m really sad not to be able to do it, especially now that I connect with these bookstores on this other level.”

And in March, Straub shut Books Are Magic to the public, per the state’s orders to temporarily close nonessential businesses. In the weeks leading up to the order, she was in contact with other independent booksellers, all trying to prepare for a possible hit to the already unstable business. Books Are Magic, a darling of social media and often host to starry guests, has been surviving, thanks to an outpouring of support from loyal customers. The store is also hosting several virtual events, where authors can connect with fans and read from their books. Straub, who is responsible for buying most of the books coming into the store, is receiving enough online orders to stay afloat for now.

And, as disappointed as she is about how plans to launch *All Adults Here* have changed, she’s thinking more about other writers, particularly those publishing debut books right now after years of work. “This is a major ‘I want everyone to win’ situation,” she says, scooping up her cat, Killer, and placing her over her shoulder. “I want people to buy any book from any bookstore. It doesn’t have to be my book from my bookstore.”

Her role as a bookseller gives her hope: because what people need now more than anything, she believes, are books. “What are we all doing in our quarantines?” she asks. “We’re figuring out how to walk out the door without walking out the door. Reading a book is the best way to do that.”

COURTESY BOOKS ARE MAGIC

From the bathtub to the big screen: Camille (Harrier) and Raymond (Criss) dream big

REVIEW

Once upon a time in Ryan Murphy's *Hollywood*

By Judy Berman

HOLLYWOOD NEVER STOPS FEELING NOSTALGIC FOR ITS golden age. For the Coen brothers, it's a world of slumming playwrights, cigar-chomping execs and gossip columnists digging for dirt on fertile ground. Best Picture winner *The Artist* was a bittersweet remembrance of silent film. And last year's Quentin Tarantino hit *Once Upon a Time ... in Hollywood* imagined the studio system and its cowboys winning out over a new generation of hippies and radicals.

Now Ryan Murphy, whose 2017 FX docudrama *Feud* amended one slice of studio history, reimagines the whole industry in the boldly titled miniseries *Hollywood*. His take is as fantastical as Tarantino's, but as you'd expect from the mega-producer whose *American Crime Story* made Marcia Clark a feminist hero, it's also far more progressive. Black, Asian-American, female and queer characters are the stars of Murphy and co-creator Ian Brennan's story. If only that story, for all its glitzy fun, weren't so glib and self-important.

Hollywood opens after World War II, with handsome, broke newlywed vet Jack (David Corenswet). Hungry for fame but blessed with neither training nor connections, he's a face in the crowd that swarms studio gates begging to be cast as an extra—until he meets Errol Flynn look-alike Ernie (Dylan McDermott, excellent). Sadly, Ernie isn't a producer; he owns a gas station that is a front for an all-male prostitution ring.

Murphy takes his time setting the postwar scene with lush re-creations of hotels and studio lots. But eventually our straight, white, male hero gets absorbed into a larger narrative that has black, gay aspiring screenwriter Archie (Jeremy Pope) and biracial upstart director Raymond (Darren Criss) trying to make a movie at the fictional Ace Studios. Vying for roles in this film about Peg Entwistle, the actor who jumped off the Hollywood sign to her death, are Jack; ambitious Claire (Samara Weaving); Raymond's talented girlfriend Camille (Laura Harrier), who is black; and Archie's lover Rock Hudson (Jake Picking). Their challenge is to win over the older suits who sign the checks, scene-stealers Patti LuPone, Rob Reiner, Holland Taylor and Jim Parsons (in a fabulously deranged turn as real-life predatory agent Henry Willson).

Criss, Pope, Corenswet and Picking: suited up

***HOLLYWOOD* WANTS VIEWERS** to imagine an entertainment industry whose politics were decades ahead of reality—one that welcomed marginalized artists and told their stories. What if Hudson had come out? What if Anna May Wong (Michelle Krusiec) didn't have to portray Asian stereotypes? What if the Hollywood that chewed up, spit out, molested or ignored outsiders had been overthrown by a gentler, more inclusive new regime?

It's a lovely sentiment, and the show sometimes achieves the righteous thrills it sets out to provide. But beyond the plot holes, absurd twists and preaching that Murphy fans regularly forgive out of affection for his propulsive, pluralistic fictions, the show makes enacting lasting social change look too easy. One movie couldn't have accomplished the work of every '60s liberation movement, or millions of activists. Particularly after 2016—when American politics veered to the right even as pop culture grew more inclusive—*Hollywood*'s act of faith feels naive.

HOLLYWOOD *arrives on Netflix on May 1*

HOLLYWOOD: NETFLIX (2); BETTY: HBO; NORMAL PEOPLE: HULU

Kirt (Moran): a total Betty

REVIEW

Skater girls in a teenage city

The teenage map of New York City—with its parks, public pools, takeout joints and cramped dive bars that don't card—is a landscape in constant motion. That parallel realm is the setting of HBO's *Betty,* a half-hour dramedy adapted by Crystal Moselle from her wonderful 2018 indie film *Skate Kitchen.* With macho skate culture as its backdrop, the film follows five young women from a variety of backgrounds as they claim space at the skate park, party, pursue crushes and get in trouble.

The show inherits both the film's cast (members of a real all-female skate crew) and its loose, dreamy, kinetic vibe from the movie. Each character has the authenticity of a real person: Kirt (Nina Moran) is the goofy, extroverted lesbian Casanova. Camille (Rachelle Vinberg) hangs with male skaters but is starting to doubt that they have her back. Like so much coming-of-age fare, it chronicles self-discovery through friendship; everyone's unique set of privileges and struggles slowly comes into focus. But it is Moselle's eye for the gritty beauty of the teenage city and the youthful energy of its inhabitants—specifically the free-spirited girls who roam its sidewalks with boards in hand—that makes *Betty* a breath of fresh summertime air. —*J.B.*

BETTY *premieres May 1 on HBO*

REVIEW

A disappointingly *Normal* adaptation

SALLY ROONEY IS THE LITERARY world's latest voice of a generation, a 29-year-old Irish author who has published two hit novels about the romantic entanglements of bright young people in a society scarred by inequality. It is a mark of how quickly her star has risen that a miniseries based on Rooney's second book, *Normal People,* will debut on Hulu just over a year after its stateside publication. The BBC co-production is a polished but strangely muted interpretation of a narrative fueled by passion, trauma and loneliness. It magnifies the novel's faults.

The half-hour drama opens in rural Ireland, where Marianne (Daisy Edgar-Jones) and Connell (Paul Mescal) are in their final year of high school. He's a popular athlete hiding his intelligence behind a good-natured grin in order to fit in with his rowdy friends. She's a fiery, friendless misfit who shouts down teachers and bullies alike. Her family is rich but mean; his mom (Sarah Greene), who cleans Marianne's house, loves him fiercely. Outside of school, their banter escalates into secret trysts. The sex is sublime. If only he weren't ashamed to be seen with her and she didn't lack the self-respect to push him. It ends badly.

But it starts again the next year, when they're both at college in Dublin. The balance of power has shifted in Marianne's favor; she's become the queen of a wealthy, intellectual milieu, while Connell is adrift without his old buddies. A seemingly endless cycle of reconciliation and separation begins; though their attraction is magnetic, the outside world always intervenes.

Skillfully written though it was, the book often felt to me like an exercise, its characters two sides of an unworkable equation. The show repeats this problem while also—despite ideal performances from Edgar-Jones and Mescal, who have perfect chemistry—robbing Marianne and Connell of interiority. A dusty palette, twee indie-folk soundtrack and excessive length render Rooney's dynamic, psychologically rich prose inert. (*Room* director Lenny Abrahamson and Hettie MacDonald, of 2018's *Howards End,* split directing duties. MacDonald's episodes, the final six, are tighter.) The result is hardly incompetent but never bold enough to transcend the standard literary adaptation. Isn't the point of *Normal People* that Rooney's characters are anything but? —J.B.

NORMAL PEOPLE *comes to Hulu April 29*

A young woman adrift: Edgar-Jones' Marianne

‹
Lewis and Diemer: it feels like love—or is it really just the best kind of friendship?

REVIEW

The Half of It is alive to more than romance

By Stephanie Zacharek

BECAUSE HUMANS SPEND SO MUCH ENERGY IN PURSUIT OF romance, we sometimes forget that platonic relationships can be even more complicated—and generally last longer too. That's just one of the ideas thrumming beneath the surface of writer-director Alice Wu's *The Half of It,* a prickly-tender film about teenage friendship, first love and all the blurry gradations in between. It's sweet and funny, but also, in places, as raw as a scraped knee.

Ellie Chu (Leah Lewis) is a straight-A student living in a dull town in the Pacific Northwest. She has a great, dry wit, but she doesn't really have any friends, maybe because she's managing so much anxiety at home: her father (Collin Chou) earned an advanced engineering degree in China, but in the States, where he moved his family when Ellie was small, his imperfect English has held him back. He's also, it seems, still numb with grief—his wife, Ellie's mother, is dead, and he spends his days watching movies like *Casablanca* and *His Girl Friday* as a way of improving his English, though it's clear they simply give him solace.

Ellie holds together this little family of two, writing papers for her fellow students at $20 a pop. "It's an A or you don't pay" is her motto. She's so good at this academic sleight of hand that a classmate she barely knows, Paul Munsky (Daniel Diemer), a charming but awkward jock who works part time in his family's sausage business, approaches her to write a love letter for him, *Cyrano de Bergerac*–style. The object of his affection is the prettiest and nicest girl in school, Aster Flores (Alexxis Lemire), a deacon's daughter who's sensitive and bookish, with a flair for art.

The complication is that Ellie herself has a crush on Aster. She at first refuses to help Paul, but relents when she needs $50 to pay the electricity bill her father has neglected. The letters she writes under Paul's name—augmented by a series of ghostwritten text messages—are so effective that they almost get him what he wants, though they also expose his own underlying insecurities.

'I used to think there was only one way to love ... Now that I'm older, I see there are more.'

ALICE WU, in her director's statement

WHAT'S WONDERFUL ABOUT *The Half of It* is the way it respects *everyone's* insecurities, without letting its characters get away with their biases. Ellie feels like an outsider, perhaps not so much because she's a person of color in a mostly white town but because she's so much smarter than everyone else—and also happens to be gay. She and Aster, through those letters and texts ostensibly written by Paul, connect over art and books. But Aster, so lovely that you can't imagine she'd have a care in the world, reveals that because of how the world perceives her, she feels lumped into a group where she doesn't belong: "I'm like a lot of people—which makes me kind of no one."

That line, perceptive and alive, is typical of *The Half of It.* This is Wu's second film: her first, worth seeking out, is the 2004 *Saving Face,* about a young Chinese-American woman (Michelle Krusiec) trying to navigate her closeted love life, even as her extremely homophobic mother (Joan Chen) reveals, at age 48, that she's pregnant, with the father nowhere in sight. The plot mechanics of *The Half of It* creak a little; once in a while, a scene raises more questions than it answers. But the movie is so vital that that doesn't matter much, and its young actors hit every delicate beat perfectly. When you're young and you long to be in love, friendship somehow seems like less, even when it may be more. Yet there's no denying that love triangles hurt like hell. Why do you think their points are shaped like arrows?

THE HALF OF IT *streams May 1 on Netflix*

NETFLIX (3)

REVIEW

Justice at last, after 15 years

In a world that sometimes seems to be falling apart, Daniel H. Birman's *Murder to Mercy: The Cyntoia Brown Story* offers a shred of hope. In 2004, Brown, age 16, was arrested in Nashville for the murder of 43-year-old Johnny Allen, who had picked her up for sex. Although Brown claimed she had shot Allen in self-defense, in 2006—after being tried as an adult—she was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Was Brown a ruthless killer or an underage victim of sex trafficking? Birman's documentary, the follow-up to his 2011 *Me Facing Life: Cyntoia's Story,* makes a strong case for the latter. In 2019, after years of legal battles—and after she had earned a college degree and become a model of rehabilitation—Brown was granted clemency by Tennessee Governor Bill Haslam. But to see earlier footage of her as a teenager, obviously intelligent but also anxious and high-strung, is wrenching. *Murder to Mercy* exposes huge cracks in the system, big enough for young people to fall through for all the wrong reasons. —*S.Z.*

MURDER TO MERCY: THE CYNTOIA BROWN STORY
streams April 29 on Netflix

Brown: a long path to clemency

All American Girls Professional Baseball League
Terry Donahue
Congratulations
Terry and Pat

Donahue and Henschel lived as a couple for more than 60 years before they felt they could come out to their families

REVIEW

A secret love moves into the light

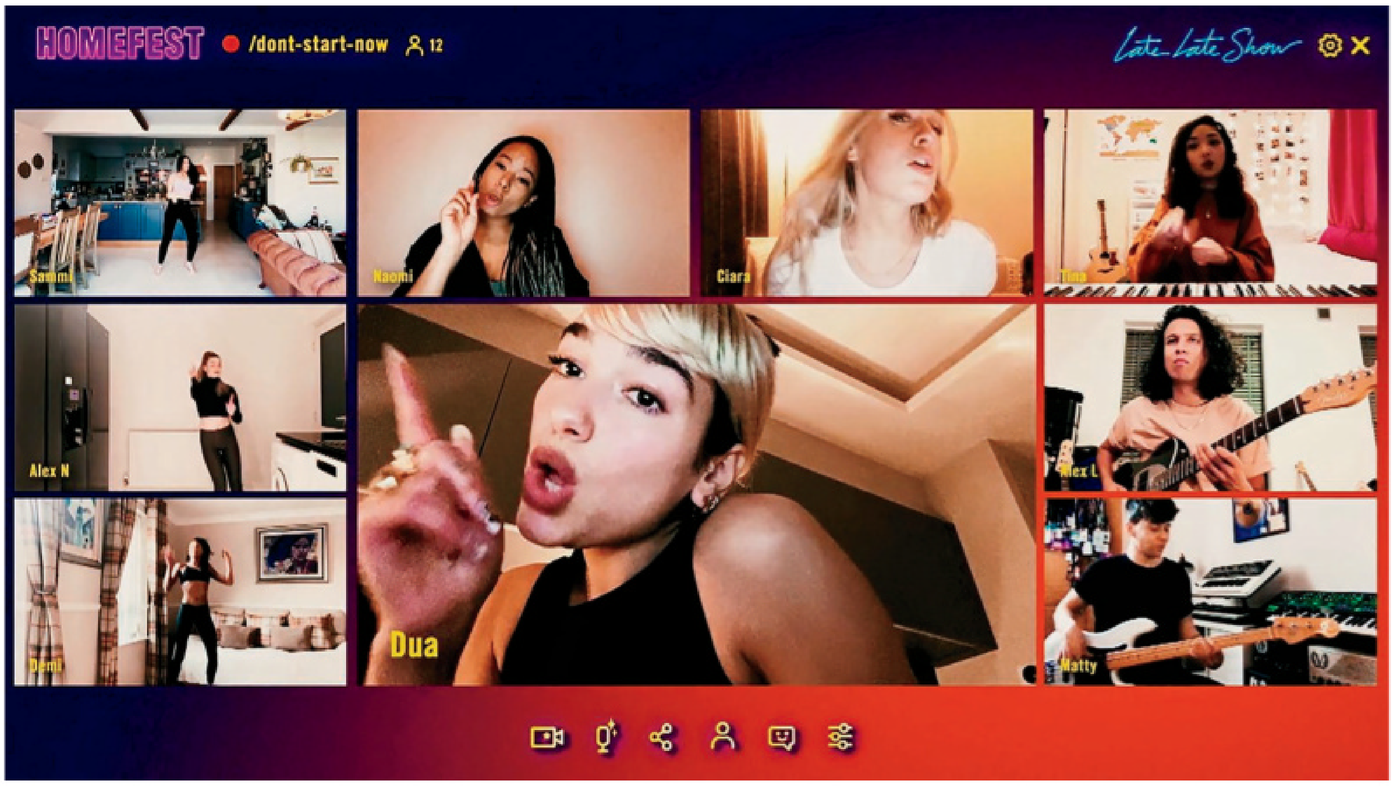
IT'S A RARE ACCOMPLISHMENT FOR two people to stick together for nearly 70 years. But what's it like to have nurtured a relationship for that long while keeping it a secret from some of the people closest to you?

That's the territory Chris Bolan mines in his heartfelt documentary *A Secret Love,* the story of Terry Donahue and Pat Henschel, who met and fell in love in 1947, though it would be more than 60 years before they felt they could come out to their families. In that time, they lived full and happy lives, working for the same interior-design company in Chicago and building a home in the house they owned together. In 2009, they cautiously revealed the nature of their relationship to Terry's niece, Diana Bolan. She seemed more relieved than surprised, telling them, "Now you can tell your story."

That story unfolds as the two women pack up the home they've shared for 21 years, preparing for a move into an assisted-living facility. At the time they met, Donahue was a catcher in the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, the inspiration for the 1992 film *A League of Their Own.* Both had grown up on farms in northwestern Canada, but preferred the freedom of city life in the U.S. Even then, they didn't dare socialize in bars: raids were common, and exposure could mean the end of a career. Instead, they cultivated close friends, people for whom they didn't have to pretend to be "cousins."

Donahue and Henschel are already in their 80s when we meet them: Donahue has a sweet, openhearted expression; Henschel is more peppery. To illustrate their story, director Bolan—who is Donahue's great-nephew—assembled a trove of old photographs and home movies, showing the two as young women, pretty, vibrant "career girls" who clearly loved each other's company. (There's some wonderful footage of the couple clowning around at the beach, wearing identical conical straw hats.) When you see a photograph of a young person, it's almost impossible to imagine what he or she will look like in old age. But when you look at the faces of the elderly Donahue and Henschel, even at their most frail, the young women within shine through. It's enraging that society made them feel they had to hide. But their happiness is the ultimate triumph. —S.Z.

A SECRET LOVE *debuts April 29 on Netflix*



Lipa, bottom center, performs with her band on The Late Late Show With James Corden

FEATURE

Making the most of lockdown

By Andrew R. Chow

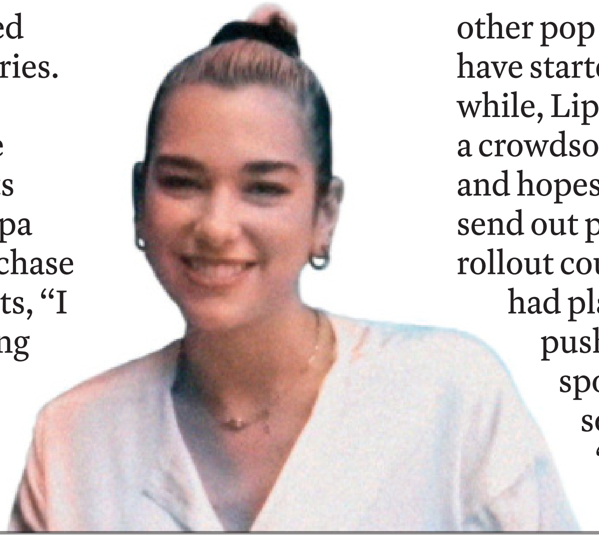
IN MID-MARCH, THE POP-MUSIC WORLD WENT into collective retreat. Tentpole festivals were postponed; stadium tours were scrapped. Major artists, such as Lady Gaga and Sam Smith, shelved their albums rather than run the risk of appearing insensitive in an era of isolation and illness.

But one artist did the opposite, choosing to rush out an album before its scheduled release: the 24-year-old British pop singer-songwriter Dua Lipa. "I was thinking of moving the album—putting it out at a later time when things weren't feeling so heavy," she says. "But when I was playing devil's advocate with myself, I kept going back to the fact that I made this record to get away from any anxieties and pressures of making a second record—to just have fun and dance."

The gambit paid off. The relentlessly upbeat *Future Nostalgia* has been rapturously received by fans and critics, hitting No. 1 in nine countries. Listeners have gravitated in particular to two songs that, while written and recorded before the pandemic, seem to be eerily apt blueprints for social distancing: in "Don't Start Now," Lipa commands an ex-flame to stay in rather than chase after her, and in "Break My Heart," she laments, "I should have stayed at home/ 'Cause I was doing better alone." The two sets of lyrics were soon inserted into memes and PSAs. Critics dubbed Lipa the Queen of Quarantine.

In the weeks since, Lipa—whose 2017 hit "New Rules," and its viral video, helped make her a global star—has become one of the most prominent cultural faces of our socially distant existence. And in late-night performances, Lipa has ushered in a new wave of audiovisual creativity forged under unprecedented constraints. Musical performances from isolation have had a sameness: dimly lit iPhone camerawork, acoustic guitar picking, glitchy vocal acrobatics. Lipa and her team were disillusioned with the format. "I didn't want us to feel like we had to put on a simple performance just because we're working from home," she says.

Lipa's unintentionally quarantine-friendly lyrics have inspired memes and PSAs



SO FOR HER PERFORMANCE of "Don't Start Now" on *The Late Late Show With James Corden,* Lipa and her team simulated a Zoom call, with Lipa singing and making faces as her dancers and band grooved and twirled in thumbnails around her. Her performance of "Break My Heart" on *The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon* went even further: 12 green screens were sent to the homes of performers, their movements stitched together so the dancers' fuzzy silhouettes flitted in and out like ghosts, while a seated Lipa raced through a whirlwind of now foreign settings, including crowded city streets, subway cars and Fallon's stage. "It's always more interesting to get out of my comfort zone—to make it as crazy as possible," Lipa says. "If it doesn't turn out, fine—but at least we tried."

Since then, performance videos have started to break away from the previous drab norms, while other pop stars, from Kelly Clarkson to Charli XCX, have started to re-emerge with new music. Meanwhile, Lipa is still racing forward. She's working on a crowdsourced performance of "Break My Heart," and hopes to create an animated music video and send out personal zines to fans. Her second album rollout couldn't have been further from what she had planned—but the circumstances have pushed her to think differently about the responsibilities of being an artist. "There's so much we can come up with," she says. "Maybe it's our duty to make things a little easier for people at home."

GETTY IMAGES (2)

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6 Questions

Dr. Anthony Fauci The top U.S. infectious-disease expert on social distancing, COVID-19 testing and being the fall guy for the stalled economy

President Trump outlined his three-phase plan to reopen businesses and society. From a public-health and scientific perspective, is it the right time to talk about reopening the country? We have to realize that we are a large country that has outbreaks in different regions in different states and different cities that have different dynamics and [are in] different phases. Sometimes, and understandably, people might think when you get back to normal, it's like a light switch that you turn on or off. It isn't really that at all. When we talk about "Is it the right time?"—it's only the right time for those areas of the country that have already shown consistently [that they are] going down in the number of new cases of COVID-19.

The fact that we are locked down is almost a strategy of last resort. How did we find ourselves in a position of hiding from the virus instead of confronting it? We had an unprecedented situation of [this virus] ... spreading throughout the world in literally weeks to months, and then the unfortunate situation of having an unprecedented degree of transmissible efficiency and high degree of morbidity and mortality. There was no preparation back then [several months ago] that would have anticipated this ... [so we] are not as well prepared as [we] would have liked to be.

Testing is critical as we talk about reopening the country. How confident are you that testing capability is up and running and ready for that? Right now I think there are still some gaps there. We absolutely need to significantly ramp up not only the number of tests but the capacity to actually perform them. So that you don't have a situation where you have the test but it can't be done because you don't have a swab, or extraction media, or the right vial. I am not overly confident right now at all that we have what it takes to do that. We are getting better and better as the weeks go by, but we are not in a situation where we say we are exactly where we want to be with regard to testing.

> *'THIS VIRUS IS SO TRANSMISSIBLE, IT'S NOT GOING TO DISAPPEAR'*

What is herd immunity, and what role does it play in controlling COVID-19 long-term? There are two ways you get herd immunity. You get enough people infected who are then ultimately immune and thus protected [against infection]. And/or you get a vaccine that induces immunity. The perfect form of herd immunity is a vaccine that is 97% effective. But sometimes you need a combination of ... people who have been infected together with a vaccine. Right now, since we don't have a vaccine and likely will not have one for months to a year ... and we don't know for sure how many individuals have been infected and are asymptomatic—herd immunity doesn't work under those circumstances. This virus is so transmissible, it's not going to disappear. It's going to be there until we can suppress it.

What did you make of President Trump tweeting #FireFauci? I meet with the President literally every day. There was no way he was going to do that, because he had no intention to do that. A lot of people use me as a symbol for shutting down the economy. It's understandable but not really real. I just give public-health advice. My job always is—and I've always done it, and will continue to do it—to give advice on the basis of evidence and science.

You treasure your daily runs. Are you able to continue with your tradition? Well, on the weekends, yes. I used to do it every day. Now, if I do squeeze it in, it's at night. And I stay 6 ft. apart from everybody else.

—ALICE PARK

Adapted from a TIME 100 Talk. Watch the full interview with Fauci at time.com/fauci-interview

DREW ANGERER—GETTY IMAGES

> “When my mom was diagnosed with cancer, I wanted her to have access to the best treatments available.”

SONEQUA MARTIN-GREEN
Stand Up To Cancer Ambassador

Photo By
MATT SAYLES

THAT’S WHY I’M SO PASSIONATE ABOUT EXPANDING AWARENESS OF CLINICAL TRIALS

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